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THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS REYNOLDS.

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Thos Reynolds

THE LIFE

OF

THOMAS REYNOLDS, ESQ.

FORMERLY OF KILKEA CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF KILDARE.

BY HIS SON

THOMAS REYNOLDS.

" What if He hath decreed that I shall first
Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,
By tribulations, injuries, insults,
Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,
Without distrust or doubt."

MILTON'S PARADISE REGAINED, Book iii

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE time has at length arrived when I am enabled to lay before the public the history of my father's eventful life. Perhaps it would be difficult to find, in the annals of this, or any other country, a man whose political conduct has been so unjustly misrepresented, or whose private character has been so wilfully and foully slandered. During the last forty years of his life he was repeatedly assailed by his political enemies, without any regard to truth or justice, and generally (I am happy to say, not always) neglected by those who called themselves his friends, and who succeeded in persuading him that they were so. In 1798 he was hailed as the saviour of his country, courted and caressed by all who were not actually engaged in the Rebellion; addresses and thanks were voted to him; wealth and titles pressed upon him; but, satisfied with having done his duty, and being altogether devoid of ambition, he declined them all, desirous of retiring from public life, to spend his days in tranquillity and domestic peace. He was so well known in Ireland at that day—his family connexions and social position were so well recognised—his character, whether private or public, was so justly esteemed by all loyal and well-disposed persons of every class in society, that he

179907

could not conceive it possible that the breath of slander could venture to assail him at a future period. A very few years, however, taught him to what extent he was mistaken in his estimate of mankind. As the principles of Radicalism, as they were then called, gained ground in England, by degrees the remains of the United Irish party raised their heads, and my father was one of the first persons on whom they sought to take vengeance. The same persons who held the reins of Government in Ireland in 1798 were in 1817 in similar situations in England, but, instead of shielding my father, as they were in honour bound to do, against the shafts of his and their own slanderers, with one or two noble exceptions, they seemed glad to find that they could shake him off, or make him their political scapegoat.* While in private they continued to speak of him, and to him, in terms of admiration and approval, in public they left him without defence, exposed to the virulence of men, whose hatred and disappointed ambition led them to sacrifice truth and honesty in order to gratify their revenge. Within ten years of the Rebellion, the attacks on his character began, and in 1817 they reached their acme. Then it was that these

* Of all those noblemen and gentlemen who were in power in 1798, and who owed their lives as well as their reputations to my father, the Marquis Camden and the Earl of Chichester have alone invariably stood forward both in public and in private in his defence. Those excellent men, the patterns of everything that is noble, everything that is honourable, everything that is upright, have never suffered an opportunity to pass, without declaring their opinions of the honour, integrity, and personal disinterestedness of my father.

Memoirs should have appeared; but the reader will see what entreaties and promises, what threats and machinations, were made use of by *his friends* to keep him silent; unfortunately he allowed himself to be their dupe, and the time passed by. When too late, he saw his error. He retired to France in 1820, where the last fifteen years of his life repaid him a thousand-fold for all his previous troubles. He was there surrounded by a small number of friends, in whose intercourse he found consolation and comfort, and finally that Friend who sticketh closer than a brother. A few days before his death he gave me all his papers, with a solemn injunction to make no unnecessary delay in laying them before the public. He particularly desired me to remember that he had truly and sincerely forgiven all his persecutors and slanderers; and he wished me to be as forbearing as the nature of the subject would allow me to be. It is for the public to judge how far I have followed his wishes in this respect. When I have been convinced that a deliberate falsehood has been published, I have called it by its true name; but, whenever I have had the least cause to hope that a writer may have been deceived, or may have written without due examination, though I may have blamed such a one, I trust that I have adhered to my father's wishes, which so well accord with my own sentiments.

The task imposed upon me has been much beyond my strength. I have so far shared my father's persecutions that, finding myself when very young debarred from every hope of advancement, I have resided for twenty

years on the Continent, living upon a very limited income, until I have almost forgotten to write my own language;—entirely unknown to the literary world, I have had but little assistance or advice in the compilation of these Memoirs. They are a plain statement of facts, and must owe any success they may meet with to the simple force of truth.

In the preliminary chapter I have borrowed freely from Gordon's History of Ireland, and occasionally from Plowden. My object was, not to write a history of Ireland, but simply to condense into a short chapter the leading events of the last century, so as to give the reader a sketch of the state of parties at the time the United Irish Society was first formed. In the account I have given of the Rebellion I have used the documents and papers which my father had collected; but, as they were very voluminous, I only publish, for the present, those which I find corroborated by other accounts. For that purpose I have carefully examined Musgrave's History of the Rebellion; W. C. Taylor's Account of the Civil Wars; Teeling's Personal Narrative; George Taylor's Account of the Rebellion in the County of Wexford; the Rev. James Gordon's History of the Rebellion; and Hay's History of the Insurrection in Wexford. The account of the United Irish Society is entirely taken from my father's papers; but it will be seen that, in proof of its accuracy, I have extracted largely from the Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone. I have also consulted, and occasionally quoted from, the Report of the Secret Committees of the Houses of Lords and

Commons in Ireland, from William James M'Nevin's Pieces of Irish History, from the Memoirs of William Sampson, and from the Life of Curran, by his son.

It may not be known to all my readers that there are two different editions of the Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone,—the original edition published by his son at Philadelphia, in 1826, in two volumes large octavo, containing together twelve hundred and forty pages closely printed, and each page containing forty lines;—the other, which is more commonly known, published by Colburn in 1827, also in two volumes octavo, but of a smaller size, much larger print, and containing only eight hundred and seventy-five pages of thirty-one lines each;—indeed, the latter contains less than half the matter of the former. The motive for suppressing so large a part of this extraordinary work is not difficult to detect, and it is certain that, very soon after the original appeared, it was bought up with such care that a copy could with difficulty be procured. I have two copies of the American edition,—and certainly a more candid exposure of the real designs of the United Irish Society, from the first hour of its formation, could not possibly be imagined than that which Mr. Tone's papers afford. It is not easy to believe that they were ever intended for publication, at least in their present form. I need not add, that all my quotations are taken from the original edition.

It will be observed that all Mr. Tone's statements as to the real designs of the United Irish Society from its formation in 1791, and the care with which those

designs were concealed from the mass of the United Irishmen, under the mask of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform, fully corroborate the Reports of the Secret Committees, which have been so stoutly contradicted by Dr. M'Nevin ond others. Mr. Tone's work was never answered, it was judged more prudent to let it quietly sink into oblivion.

I have been obliged to speak plainly of Mr. Moore's Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; he has so insidiously endeavoured to connect my father with that nobleman's arrest and death, that I could not pass by the charge. His popularity as a writer, certainly no intrinsic merit in his Memoir, caused his work to be universally read; and many persons, in utter ignorance of the facts, believed Mr. Moore's statements. In a work, therefore, such as this, I am called upon to answer the accusation, whatever may be my own opinion of him who preferred it.

I am indebted to another pen for the analysis of, and remarks on, the trials of M'Can, Byrne, and Bond, contained in the 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters. My reading and habits but ill fitted me for the critical examination of reports of legal proceedings carefully involved in obscurity, and in some parts wilfully falsified. I trust that hereafter my father will be judged in these particulars by the evidence produced against him, and not by the speeches truly or falsely attributed to counsel.

It has been hinted to me, more than once, that the publication of this work will draw upon me that malevolence which pursued my father to his grave—that I shall rouse feelings which are almost extinct—and begin a contro-

versy which will annoy me for years. But do those persons, some of whom I know are my friends, imagine that I have not long ago well calculated the consequences of what they call throwing down the gauntlet? I do not conceive I am throwing it down—I am only taking up that which has been thrown down repeatedly, and which, had I followed my own inclination, I would have taken up twenty years ago. As to malevolence, it cannot affect me. I have nothing to gain or lose in this world; I have long ago given up all worldly acquaintance, all hopes of worldly honours, or riches. As to rousing dormant feelings, that is just my wish; I should be very sorry to have the subject forgotten; I wish it to be remembered, and carefully examined, knowing that it will stand the test. I know that if my book is read at all it will be criticised. As regards the style, and the composition of such parts as are mine, I am sure they are open to criticism, and any they may meet with, instead of annoying me, will serve but as a lesson to me to correct my defects if ever I should again venture before the public—for such criticisms, therefore, I should be grateful. As to the facts adduced, they may be denied, because there are men who will deny anything, but I have not to my knowledge advanced a single statement which I cannot substantiate. I have, in all important matters, sought my proofs from my enemies. The works of which I have made most use are Tone's Life, Curran's Life, M'Nevin's Pieces of Irish History, and Howell's State Trials, all of which are taken from the enemy's camp,

for I felt that my surest plan was to let my father's revilers write his life. All the letters I have published I have in my possession, ready to be shown to any person, friend or foe, who wishes to see them. The parliamentary matters are copied from Hansard. On these points, therefore, I do not fear criticism. I have a vast mass of curious documents, which are not in these volumes—anecdotes of all the leading men connected with the United Irish Society, many of whom have to this day remained unknown as United Irishmen. I have however carefully abstained from naming a single individual in these Memoirs who has not been already repeatedly named, and I hope I shall be enabled to continue this reserve.

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1691 to 1793.

THE history of Ireland is known to the generality of readers only as connected with that of England, and while every one contemplates with amazement and sorrow the dissensions and disturbances, the outrages and rebellions, which have so long distracted that unhappy country, it is astonishing how few there are who know, or are willing to take the trouble of examining

into, the causes which produced those disturbances, and which have at times entirely changed the character of a people, naturally generous, noble-minded, and hospitable, and converted one of the most fertile countries in Europe into little better than a barren and unproductive wilderness.

It may not be uninteresting to take a hasty survey of the principal events that took place in Ireland during the last century, and which eventually led to the disastrous rebellion of 1798; indeed, as the history of my father's life is intimately connected with that Rebellion, it is indispensable that the state of parties in his day should be rightly understood, in order to form a correct estimate of the position he occupied, and the line of conduct he pursued.

When the city of Limerick opened her gates to admit the forces of William and Mary, and consented to abandon the cause of the monarch who had already abandoned them, it was on the solemn faith of a treaty granting them certain rights and privileges. It is useless to say that the garrison would have been ultimately compelled to surrender, when we know that, a very few days after the capitulation was finally adjusted and signed, a formidable French fleet arrived in the Shannon, with forces, arms, and provisions in abundance. By this treaty, known by the name of the Treaty of Limerick, it was agreed, among other matters, that the Roman Catholics should enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as they had enjoyed in the reign of King Charles II.; and their majesties engaged to

summon a parliament in order to endeavour to procure for the Roman Catholics such further security as might preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their religion. It was also stipulated that every nobleman and gentleman should have liberty to ride with a sword and a case of pistols, if he thought fit, and keep a gun in his house for the defence of the same, or for fowling.* The Protestant party were much dissatisfied with this treaty. By one of the articles they were precluded from reclaiming the property of which the Roman Catholics had retaken possession; and as they were the most powerful party, though by far the least numerous, they soon manifested their intention of infringing the capitulation. In 1691, after order had been somewhat restored, the English Parliament passed an act for Ireland, abrogating the oath of supremacy, and substituting other oaths, by which the Roman Catholics were virtually excluded from both houses of the legislature. Two years afterwards, on the recall of Lord Sydney, the Lord Lieutenant, the government was vested in the hands of three Lords Justices; Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncombe: the first was an acknowledged advocate for the evasion of the Treaty of Limerick, and accordingly we soon find his interest causing the removal of his two colleagues, and himself appointed sole governor, with the title of Lord Deputy. In 1694 that nobleman convened a parliament, by which the articles of Limerick were much

* See Appendix, No. 1.

modified, and some penal statutes were enacted against the Roman Catholics. One of those statutes was in direct violation of the treaty; by it "all Papists were ordered to deliver up their arms to the nearest justice of the peace; and any two justices were empowered to search for and seize all such arms." They were also empowered to search *on suspicion*, and, if their search was ineffectual, they might examine the suspected person on oath. Any Papist having arms in his possession, and refusing to deliver them up on demand, was liable to a fine, if a peer; and to fine and imprisonment, if a commoner. It was also enacted, that any person sending a child to a foreign seminary for the purpose of being educated therein, in the Popish religion, should, on conviction, be disabled to sue in law or in equity; to be guardian, executor, or administrator; to take any legacy or deed of gift, or bear any office; and should forfeit goods and chattels for ever, and lands for life. Any justice might, on information that a child had been thus sent abroad, summon before him all persons charged, or *suspected*, to have been concerned therein. These he might examine without oath, and any other persons on oath: and if he considered that the act had been transgressed, he might bind over the parties and witnesses, in any sum not less than 200*l.*, to appear at the next quarter-session, when the person accused was compelled to prove his innocence! or to incur the pains and penalties; the forfeiture being equally divided between the crown and the informer. With regard to the child sent, if, on arriving at the age of twenty-one,

he was able to show that he was not sent contrary to the act, he was to be released from all the penalties, *save and except the whole of his goods and chattels, and all the profits of his lands, from the time of his having been sent to the day of his acquittal.*

In the year 1697 it was further enacted, that no Papist, or *reputed* Papist, might be employed as a fowler for a Protestant, and have, keep, carry, or use a gun, or other fire-arms: if he had such, they might be seized on a warrant of a justice of the peace, and were to be given to the informer as his reward.

In the following year the Irish Parliament, at the king's desire, laid such heavy duties on the exportation of woollen cloths as almost amounted to a prohibition, and the English Parliament in 1699 entirely forbade their exportation to any country except South Britain. The consequences of these prohibitory laws were the very reverse of what the English Parliament had hoped. The distress and misery of the numerous class of persons, who had hitherto lived by their daily labour as woollen cloth manufacturers, was such as to induce vast numbers to emigrate to France and other countries. They carried their industry with them; and England, instead of being benefited by the destruction of that branch of trade in Ireland, found rivals springing up on all sides, and especially in France, who not only supplied herself abundantly, but actually undersold the English in the foreign markets.

While the manufacturing interests of Ireland were thus sacrificed to the mistaken policy of England, her

agricultural interests were no less injured by the frequent prohibitions laid on the exportation of cattle and provisions, and thus, within ten years of the signing of the Treaty of Limerick, Ireland was made to feel that she was a conquered country.

On the death of William, the Irish Catholics appear to have had some hopes of better times. In 1703 we find them presenting a petition to Queen Anne, in which they represented their grievances. Among other matters, they complained of the invasion of their constitutional rights by a foreign judicature; of the corrupt and oppressive conduct of the trustees of the forfeited estates; and of the misery arising from the restrictions of commerce. But, whatever their hopes may have been, they were soon destined to see them utterly destroyed; for, instead of receiving any redress, new severities were enacted against them, in the shape of a bill "to prevent the further growth of popery." It would be altogether unnecessary, and would only serve to extend this sketch to an inconvenient length, to specify all the articles of the penal code which were framed against the Roman Catholics in this and in the following sessions. It is really incredible that in the eighteenth century, and in the most civilized part of Europe, Parliament should have made, and the people have submitted to, such monstrous, such debasing laws.

All persons in Ireland were declared to be incapable of holding any employment under the crown, or of being magistrates in any city, unless they received the sacrament as prescribed by the Established Church. This

law affected the Dissenters as well as the Roman Catholics.

It was ordered that the estates of Roman Catholics should descend in equal shares to all their children, notwithstanding any settlements to the contrary, unless the persons who should otherwise inherit would consent to take the prescribed oath and conform to Protestantism.

Roman Catholics were prohibited from realizing their property in lands, and from enjoying a leasehold for more than thirty-one years.

If any child of Popish parents turned Protestant, the Court of Chancery was empowered to make such order for its maintenance as it thought fit, out of the property of its parents, and also for its portion to be paid at the decease of the parents. The parents were compelled to discover upon oath the full value of their property, and the maintenance allowed to the child might be as much as one-third of the whole! and if, after this allowance was granted, the parents should be found to have increased or improved their property, the same court had the power of increasing proportionally the sum allotted.

In all civil actions, the prosecutor or plaintiff might challenge any Papist returned as juror, simply on the ground of his religion; and the challenge was to be taken as good and lawful.

No Papist could serve on a grand jury, unless it appeared that a sufficient number of Protestants could not be procured.

Papists, however otherwise qualified, were not allowed to vote for a member of Parliament.

They were forbidden to found or endow any university, college, or school, for the education of their children; neither could they obtain degrees in the university of Dublin.

Such was the situation to which the Irish Roman Catholics were reduced, even before the generation of those who had fought for and obtained the treaty of Limerick had passed away. "Excluded from every trust, power, or emolument of the state, civil or military; excluded from all the benefits of the constitution in all its parts; excluded from all corporate rights and immunities; repelled from grand juries; restrained in petit juries; excluded from every direction, from every trust, from every incorporated society, from every establishment, occasional or fixed, instituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience, from the bench, from the bank, from the exchange, from the university, and from the college of physicians,*" can we wonder at their being dissatisfied, and at their turning at length on their oppressors?

But, while I thus endeavour faithfully to depict the political degradation of the Roman Catholics, I would not have it supposed that I consider the Protestants as altogether inexcusable. When we consider the odious tyranny of the Stuarts, who had been so lately driven from the throne, and how much misery the country

* From Simon Butler's "Digest of the Popish Laws."

had suffered on their account, we can hardly wonder that the Protestant party should do all in their power to crush those who, as a body, had so warmly espoused their cause; and, when we call to mind that society in general was at that time much less advanced in civilization than at the present day, we cannot be surprised that the Protestant party should consider themselves justified in endeavouring to put down their adversaries, without regard to the means by which they endeavoured to effect that end; nor that the Roman Catholics should use every exertion to throw off the intolerable yoke which so grievously oppressed them.

The death of Queen Anne, which took place in 1714, produced no amelioration in the affairs of the Roman Catholics. George I. had hardly ascended the throne, when he was called upon to defend his crown against the pretensions of the Chevalier de St. George, the son of James II. A dangerous rebellion was raised by the Chevalier's partisans in Scotland and the north-western parts of England; but, instead of meeting with any sympathy among the Irish, where his friends were openly recruiting, the Pretender found that the general loyalty of the people held out no hopes of success in that quarter. Indeed, the Irish Parliament, convened in 1715, not only acknowledged his Majesty's title, but passed a bill of attainder against the Chevalier, and offered a reward of 50,000*l.* for his seizure. The rebellion was soon entirely suppressed, and many of the leaders expiated their offence upon the scaffold.

Three years afterwards, when the Duke of Ormond

attempted an invasion of these kingdoms with a Spanish fleet and army, his efforts were directed to Scotland, and not to Ireland, where it would have been natural to expect that the great body of Catholics would have joined him in his endeavour to restore the exiled family.

Notwithstanding this display of zeal and loyalty, we find, in the following year, a bill passing the British Parliament, styled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain," by which the Irish House of Lords was deprived of the right of judicature in appeals; and the British Parliament was declared to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the kingdom of Ireland.

Thus, while the Irish Parliament reduced the Roman Catholics to a political non-existence, the British Parliament reduced the whole nation to a state of weakness, very little, if at all, preferable.

In 1727 George I. died, and the very first act of his successor was to deprive the Catholics of the elective franchise altogether. The discouragement of trade and industry was also producing its natural fruits: the land lay uncultivated, and the people were reduced to such a state of wretchedness and poverty, that the celebrated dean of St. Patrick declared that he rejoiced at a mortality, as a blessing to individuals and to the public. In 1728, and the following year, the scarcity of corn, caused by ill-cultivated lands and failing seasons, especially in Ulster, created a famine

throughout that province; and, when it was attempted to export corn from the south for its supply, the dread of a similar visitation led to serious riots, especially in Cork and Limerick.

In 1738 a bill was passed, inflicting additional penalties on Papists keeping any kinds of arms, and ordering a regular annual search to be made for such arms in every city or town throughout the kingdom. Notwithstanding these continued vexatious proceedings, it is a remarkable fact that, when Charles Edward Stuart, the son of the Pretender, again attempted to regain possession of the crown of his ancestors, although thousands embraced his cause in Scotland and in England, the profoundest tranquillity reigned in Ireland, and not a single man joined his standard. Hardly, however, was the rebellion quelled, when a bill was passed, enacting, that from and after the 1st of May, 1746, every Irish freeholder, before he could give his vote at an election, might be called upon to swear, not only that he was not a Papist, but that he was not married to a Papist; unless he were a convert, in which case he was to swear that he had been educated in the Popish religion, that he had conformed to the Church of Ireland, as by law established, and that he had not, since his conformity, married a Popish wife.

About the year 1723 a party in opposition to the government had been formed, under the guidance, at first, of Dean Swift. This party, calling itself "The Patriots," had gradually increased in strength, until, in 1753, we find it headed by James Fitzgerald, Earl of

Kildare. In that year a sum of 240,000*l*., which remained unappropriated in the Irish treasury, was withdrawn from the country, to the great detriment of the kingdom. That proceeding was immediately laid hold of by the Patriots; and, as it had already created general dissatisfaction, it was commented on in public and private meetings, till at length the mob became so riotous as to alarm the Viceroy for his personal safety, and to cause him to quit the country in all haste, under the protection of a military guard. In 1755 the Marquis of Hartington, afterwards created Duke of Devonshire, was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and an entire change took place in the government. Stone, the primate, was removed from the privy council; Boyle, the leader of the patriot party in the lower House, was created Earl of Shannon. Several others of the party were advanced to lucrative and influential stations; and most of those who had been displaced for favouring the popular cause were reinstated. But these concessions came too late: the poverty was so great, that the lower orders were discontented, and ripe for any excesses; and, as is usual in such cases, artful and designing men seized the opportunity of advancing their own interests, by fanning the slumbering embers into a flame. Reports were propagated, that Ireland was to be deprived of her Parliament and subjected to the same taxes as England, and that a union with Great Britain was projected. A riotous mob forced its way into the House of Lords, seated an old woman upon the throne, compelled such members as they could

find to swear that they never would consent to a union with Great Britain, destroyed the carriages of several obnoxious persons, and erected a gibbet, with the intention of hanging an obnoxious member of the House of Commons, who, however, escaped. As the night came on, the rioters dispersed, and, order being restored next day, a committee of both Houses was appointed for the discovery and punishment of the leaders and instigators of the tumult.

In 1759 an invasion was threatened from France, in which three squadrons were to co-operate. Thurot was to sail from Dunkirk, De la Clue from Toulon, and the principal fleet, with 18,000 land forces, from Brest. This last, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates, was entirely defeated by Admiral Sir Edward Hawke off the coast of Bretagne. De la Clue, with twelve ships of the line and three frigates, was defeated off the coast of Portugal by Admiral Boscawen. Thurot, with five frigates, succeeded in escaping from Dunkirk, where he had been some time blockaded. He sailed first to Gottenburg, and thence to Bergen, in Norway, where he remained some months, and at last, on the 21st of February, 1760, having parted company with two of his frigates, he landed with 600 men at Carrickfergus. Lieutenant Colonel Jennings defended the town as well as he could, till he was compelled to retire into the castle; but that fortress, being in a ruinous state, was untenable, and soon obliged to capitulate. The safety of the town, castle, and garrison, was granted by Thurot, on condition that the ships should be fur-

nished with provisions, and that a number of French prisoners, equal to that of the garrison, should be released, and sent home to France. Next day, Thurot, hearing that some thousands of the peasantry were flocking to Belfast to offer their services, hastily re-imbarked his men; and, being prevented by contrary winds from going round the north of Ireland, boldly attempted to return home through the Irish Channel. On the 28th of February he was overtaken near the Isle of Man by Commodore Elliot, with three English frigates; and after a desperate fight for one hour and a half, in which Thurot was killed, the three French frigates were captured, and brought into Ramsay Bay. On this occasion the Irish House of Commons was loud in its commendation of the zeal and patriotism of the inhabitants of the counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, and Derry. Shortly afterwards George II. died, and with the new reign began a new series of events of the greatest importance.

About the year 1760 the distress in the south of Ireland, first caused by the restrictions on the wool-trade, had greatly increased in consequence of a law which exempted grazing-grounds from the payment of tithes. This law, which had been intended as a measure of relief, had in fact operated as a premium to the landowners and farmers to convert their arable land to pasture, and, consequently, vast numbers of labourers were thrown out of employ, while those who were still employed were obliged to submit to such a low rate of wages as was altogether inadequate

to their support. Their distress was still further increased by the enclosure of commons; so that they were reduced to a state bordering on starvation. Numerous and frequent risings took place, chiefly in the night, and at last regular bands of armed men proceeded to demolish the fences of the commons, from whence they were at first called Levellers. Emboldened by impunity, they soon assumed a more formidable aspect: armed with swords, guns, and pistols, they marched through the country ham-stringing the cattle, and committing acts of the grossest barbarity on such persons as were obnoxious to them, and particularly on tithe collectors. They were bound one to another by oaths of secresy and obedience; and having assumed, by way of disguise, a species of uniform, consisting of a shirt or white frock over their clothes, they soon acquired the name of Whiteboys.

Whatever may have been the views or pretences of these insurgents at first, it appears that in a very short time they were encouraged by persons of some consideration, and, if we may credit the confessions and informations of several of them, their real designs were very different from the pretexts they made use of. From these depositions * we learn that their real object was the restoration of the exiled family of the Stuarts, and that part of the oath they took was "to be true and faithful to the King of France and Prince Charles, and to obey all the orders of his commanding officers." It is not an easy matter, at this

* See Appendix No. 2.

distance of time, to acquire any positive knowledge as to these reputed projects, but certainly the charges appear probable, from the very nature of the Roman Catholic religion. The unlimited influence of the priests over the minds of the people rendered the latter a ready tool in the hands of the former, and we know that they have never omitted any opportunity of attempting to regain that dominion which was wrested from them at the Reformation. Their intolerance and avowed hatred to Protestantism, combined with the injudicious severities which successive parliaments had heaped upon them, would sooner or later make them desirous of seizing a favourable opportunity of emancipating themselves, and retaliating upon their adversaries. Their tranquil demeanour and submissive obedience to the laws in 1715 and 1745 must be attributed to their hope that their loyalty would at last be appreciated, and their patience rewarded by the full execution of the Treaty of Limerick. These considerations, which later events have greatly strengthened, would appear to confirm the truth of the depositions, which, however, it is fair to add, have either escaped the notice of, or have been disbelieved by, some historians.

However this may be, it is certain that these men were guilty of the most abominable atrocities towards such persons as incurred their displeasure. They cut out their tongues, or amputated their noses and ears; they placed them naked on horseback, on saddles covered with skins of hedgehogs, and made them ride

before them many miles; or buried them naked up to their chins in holes lined with furze or thorns.* They plundered and often burned houses; they houghed and maimed cattle; they seized arms and horses, and levied money on the alarmed inhabitants. At length, in 1762, they had become so formidable in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, that the Marquis of Drogheda was sent to take command of the troops in those provinces. He made Clogheen, in the county of Tipperary, his head-quarters, and by his activity checked their proceedings in a great measure. The famous, or rather the infamous, Father Nicholas Sheehy, was taken by his lordship, and hanged at Clonmel soon afterwards. He had been a leader of the Whiteboys, and was always forward in inciting them to murder and outrage. After his death he was revered almost as a saint by his misguided followers.

In the same year Sir Richard Aston, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was sent down with a special commission to try the insurgents, many of whom were executed, though Sir Richard, in the course of his circuit, was so lenient, that some writers accuse him of having thereby encouraged them to persevere in their enormities. Many acts of parliament were passed with a view of putting them down, notwithstanding which we hear of them continually till the year 1784, for on the 17th of November in that year they were denounced in many Roman Ca-

* See Appendix No. 3.

tholic chapels in the diocese of Ossory. It is probable that, like most of the associations of which we shall have to speak, they ultimately merged in the one grand association of United Irishmen.

In 1763 a rising took place in the province of Ulster, which was chiefly Protestant. The insurgents assembled only in the day, and called themselves "Hearts of Oak," from their wearing oaken boughs in their hats. They marched in large bodies, and forced all whom they met to swear "to be true to the king and the Hearts of Oak." They did not plunder, and did very little personal violence. The rising began first in the county of Armagh, and soon extended to Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. Their professed object was to get rid of the burden imposed upon them of making and repairing the roads, towards which each housekeeper was obliged to furnish the labour of a man, and in some cases of a horse also, six days in the year. But they soon extended their plans, and proceeded to administer oaths to the clergy not to demand more than a certain proportion of tithe, when their further progress was stopped by the arrival of several regiments of the king's troops to reduce them to order. This was effected in a few weeks, with the loss of only three or four lives; and in the following session of parliament all cause of complaint was removed by the repeal of the act under which the labour was enforced.

From 1771 to 1773 the counties of Antrim, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Donegal were the scene of

a violent and sanguinary insurrection. The agent of the Marquis of Donegal proposed to grant leases, or renewals of leases, on an estate belonging to his lordship in the county of Antrim, to such persons only as would pay large fines. Many of the old tenants, unable to pay the fines, were turned out of their farms, and reduced to great distress. Rendered desperate by their situation, they formed an association called the "Hearts of Steel," and, being soon reinforced by discontented or distressed peasants from the neighbouring counties, they proceeded to maim or destroy the cattle of those who had taken their former tenements, and to commit other outrages of a very serious nature. Such was their boldness and resolution, that, one of their party being confined in the gaol at Belfast, on a charge of felony, they marched into the town, accompanied by some thousands of the peasantry, who joined them on that occasion only, and actually received the prisoner from the military guard, who dared not offer any opposition. At length the military interfered, when several were made prisoners, and sent for trial to Carrickfergus, where they were acquitted. In consequence of these acquittals an act of parliament was passed in 1772, ordering the insurgents to be tried in counties different from those in which the offence had been committed. Many were then sent to Dublin; but there the new law was considered so unconstitutional that the prisoners were again all acquitted. In December, 1773, the act was repealed, and, as the insurrection had become more formidable from long

impunity, the juries, desirous of restoring order and quiet, found the prisoners guilty, and many were executed. Several thousand Protestants emigrated to America, and the insurrection was totally quelled.

In 1775 the disastrous war with America began, and, at the same time, the clouds which had so long obscured the sun of freedom in Ireland began to be dispersed. Pressed by increasing distress, and emboldened by the example of America, complaints and petitions were sent from all parts of the kingdom, and the result was the relaxation of some of the restrictions on commerce; but in the mean time, the American war having closed the markets of that country against the British dominions, the exportation of Irish linens decreased so much as to occasion, notwithstanding these tardy measures of relief, great commercial distress, which was not a little heightened by an embargo laid in 1776 on the exportation of provisions, with the alleged view of distressing the revolted colonies. A general stagnation of trade and a considerable falling off of the revenue ensued, while the prices of all kinds of produce fell to so low a rate that rents and taxes could not be paid. The government, unable to alleviate this universal distress, wisely soothed the people to a patient endurance of their sufferings by relaxing, in some measure, the penal statutes. A law was passed allowing Roman Catholics, on their taking the oath of allegiance prescribed by the act of parliament passed in 1774, to acquire full property in land, as far as a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years;

and they were also delivered from the law which had until then enabled the son who conformed to Protestantism to despoil his father of his property. This was a great step towards their deliverance, and was hailed by the Roman Catholics as an earnest of better times. Still the restrictions on trade were such as to cause great discontent, and led at length to meetings in Dublin and Waterford, where resolutions were passed, and afterwards generally adopted, not to import from England any articles which could be produced at home, or dispensed with, until such time as those restrictions should be removed. But what their remonstrances could not obtain, nor their resolutions effect, was unwillingly wrung from the British government by the volunteer associations which were formed in all parts of the country at this time.

In order to carry on the war in America, most of the military had been withdrawn from Ireland, and the Americans, aware of that circumstance, sent out privateers, who were constantly hovering about the coasts, and frequently capturing merchant-vessels within sight of the land. At the same time, well-grounded apprehensions were entertained that France and Spain were projecting an invasion. The few forces left in the kingdom were quite inadequate to her defence; and, when application was made by the inhabitants of Belfast to the British government for assistance, they were told that none could be afforded, but that they must arm and defend themselves. Abandoned thus to their own resources, Belfast and Wexford set the example

of raising companies of Volunteers, which was soon followed in all parts of the kingdom. These companies elected their own officers, and purchased arms and uniforms. Government encouraged their zeal by giving them 16,000 muskets: and in a short time 80,000 men, well armed and clothed, and comprising all the loyalty, rank, and respectability of the kingdom, had embodied themselves for her defence. Their warlike attitude not only effectually deterred the French from all thoughts of an invasion, but so completely preserved the peace of the country, that never, at any time, were the laws so strictly enforced and obeyed. But, as may well be supposed, these men, thus armed, felt their own power, had not forgotten their wrongs, and determined to redress them.*

* Speaking of this time, Mr. Plowden says: "In this alarming crisis (1779) Ireland looked for redress more to the armed associations than to Parliament. Hitherto these bodies (the Volunteers) had acted only in detached companies; they now formed themselves into battalions on a system of regular communication. For some time had the original cause of the Volunteers, arming in self defence against a foreign enemy, been sunk into the more interesting object of asserting their constitutional independent rights, and procuring a free and open trade for their country. In the year 1778 the armed associations of Ireland amounted to 30,000 men; they had been regularly increasing from that period—they clad and armed themselves voluntarily—they cheerfully learned the use of arms, and freely submitted to the severest discipline; but their transcendant attention was to instil into each other an uniformity of political sentiment, and determination not to quit their arms till they should have accomplished the complete liberation of their country from the sovereignty of the British Parliament. In the beginning of the year 1780 they entered upon the plan of general organization. They appointed reviews for the ensuing summer, and chose their exercising officers and reviewing generals. Thus was laid the foundation of the Irish Union. Plowden's History of Ireland, Vol. ii. page 192.

Accordingly, on the 12th of October, 1779, on the motion of Mr. Hussey Burgh, the Commons introduced the following phrase in their address to the King :— "We beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." This address was carried to the Viceroy, by the Speaker, amidst the acclamations of an immense multitude, between two lines of the Dublin Volunteers, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, which extended from the Parliament House to the Castle. Lord North, the British minister, took the hint, and introduced in the English Parliament, without opposition, a bill for the removal of most of the restrictions on trade, and another allowing the free exportation of many articles hitherto prohibited, especially of woollens.

It was too evident that this tardy measure of relief was granted, not from any desire of doing justice to an oppressed nation, but from the fear of offending the Volunteers, who had become too formidable to be trifled with.

Though these concessions were received at first with great joy by the nation in general, yet, as it was known that they were *resumable at pleasure,* and had been represented as such by Lord North, an opinion daily gained ground, that the privileges of free trade never could be secured until the Irish Legislature became quite independent of the English Parliament, and declarations to that effect were published and circulated

widely throughout the country. At length, on the 9th of June, 1780, the Dublin Volunteers, with the Duke of Leinster as their chairman, published a resolution, "That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, were competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm, and that they would not obey or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and separately, they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes."

The determined attitude of the Volunteers, and the rapidly-increasing energy of their demands, now began to give serious uneasiness to the British Government, who used every effort to weaken the associations. These had increased to such an extent, that at Belfast alone 5400 men, with a train of 13 pieces of artillery, were publicly reviewed from time to time; and, though these men gave repeated testimonies of their loyalty and attachment to the British Government, they declared themselves determined to obtain a free trade, secured by a free legislature.

On the 28th of December, 1781, the officers and delegates of the first Regiment of Volunteers of Ulster, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, met at Armagh, and, having passed a resolution, setting forth their opinion of the degraded and inefficient condition of the Irish Parliament, invited all the corps of that Province to send delegates to Dungannon, to consider the means of obtaining redress. Their invitation was complied with, and the representatives of 143 Volunteer corps

met there on the 15th of February, 1782. Colonel William Irvine was their president, and their proceedings were conducted by the Earl of Charlemont, aided by Mr. Henry Grattan, and Mr. Flood. The business was opened by a declaration that "an Irishman abandoned none of his civil rights by learning the use of arms." They then resolved,—

"That it was an intolerable and unconstitutional grievance, that any man or body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, should claim to make laws for that kingdom, or to change or alter those already made.

"That the same was the case with regard to the power assumed by the Privy Council, under colour of a law called Poyning's law, to review, prepare, or interfere with the proceedings of Parliament.

"That the same was the case with a mutiny bill not limited from sessions to sessions.

"That the same was the case with the shutting up of the Irish ports from foreign trade, by any authority other than that of the Parliament of Ireland.

"That the same was the case with the refusal of independence to the Irish judges, in the same manner as those of England enjoyed it." And they concluded by declaring,—

"That they knew their duty to their Sovereign, and were loyal, and that they knew their duty to themselves, were resolved to be free, and were unalterably determined to seek a redress of their grievances!" They ordered that four delegates from each county should be

chosen to represent the Province of Ulster, nine of whom, being residents of Dublin, should be appointed as a committee to communicate with other Volunteer associations.

These "Dungannon Resolutions" were quickly adopted throughout the whole kingdom. Similar committees were everywhere appointed, and a national committee was chosen to conduct the whole. Parliament had met in October, 1781, and still continued sitting. Government at first showed some slight disposition to resist this armed association, by rejecting two or three motions brought forward by Mr. Grattan on the subject; but in March, 1782, a new ministry was formed, under the Marquis of Rockingham. Mr. Fox was named Secretary of State, and the Duke of Portland was sent to replace the Earl of Carlisle as Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland. Messages were sent from his Majesty to the English House of Commons on the 9th of April, and to the Irish House on the 16th, desiring them to take the affairs of Ireland into their immediate consideration. Mr. Grattan, in the Irish House, moved an address to the throne in reply, which was unanimously adopted. He closed his speech with these very noted expressions:—"Allied by liberty still more than by allegiance, Great Britain and Ireland form a constitutional confederacy; the perpetual annexion to the Crown is a powerful bond of union, but Magna Charta still more efficacious; to find anywhere a King would be easy, but to England only could the Irish look for a constitution; the mutual connexion of

the two countries was originally established by charter, and not by conquest; and every true Irishman will say, liberty with England, if England is so disposed, but at all events liberty."

On the 27th of May, 1782, the Viceroy announced to both Houses, that his Majesty was graciously disposed to give his royal assent to bills redressing all the grievances which the Dungannon meeting had complained of: also to a bill repealing the Presbyterian Test Act, thereby admitting members of that persuasion to all places of trust and emolument, and placing them in most respects on a footing with those of the Church of England; and likewise to a bill relieving Romish priests from the penalty of a premunire, to which they had been subject in certain cases; allowing Roman Catholics to purchase land, and permitting them to be guardians to their own children. When such concessions were considered as a boon, some idea may be formed of the condition of those religionists at that period. The Roman Catholics, however, far from being contented, complained that, although their numbers had added great weight to the association, their interests were alone neglected on this occasion.*

This famous Parliament was prorogued on the 27th of July, 1782, and all its acts were approved and con-

* Speaking of those concessions, Mr. Tone says, "The Catholics consider the late advantages which they obtained as so much extorted from the necessities of Government under a lucky combination of circumstances—of course, all gratitude is out of the question." Vol. i. page 511 of the original American edition.

firmed by a bill to that effect in the English Parliament, which received the royal assent on the 22nd of January, 1783. Thus, in fact, did this armed association force its demands from the Governments both of England and Ireland.

Some of the Volunteer delegates subsequently attempted still further to interfere in the government and legislature of the country. Unsupported by their most respectable members, their efforts were unavailing; but, as tools in the hands of designing men, they served to renew discontents, which might otherwise have lain dormant; and they prepared the way for the sad scenes which were to follow in a few years. Mr. Henry Grattan received 60,000*l.* * from the House of Commons, as a reward for his services in this affair; and, satisfied with what he had done, he ceased his exertions, and did not interfere when the English Government subsequently attempted to curtail some of the grants. Mr. Flood then took up the matter, and compelled the passing of the act of approval and explanation, which, as already stated, passed the English Parliament, and received the Royal assent on the 22nd of January, 1783. On account of this interference Mr. Flood was deprived of his place, the income of which was 3500*l.* a-year. How different the fate of these two patriots; he who began the contest made his fortune; he who concluded it was ruined!

The success which had hitherto attended their exer-

* Or 50,000*l.*

tions now led the Volunteers to turn their attention to Reform in Parliament.

On the 1st of July, 1783, an assembly of the delegates of forty-five Volunteer companies of Ulster met at Lisburne, in the county of Antrim, to deliberate on measures for that object; and a committee was appointed to correspond with other societies. This committee convened a general meeting of all the delegates of the province to assemble at Dungannon, on the 8th of the following September. The delegates of 272 companies met together on the day appointed, and, after passing several resolutions touching parliamentary reform, elected five persons as representative of each county in a national convention, to be held in Dublin on the 10th of November. Their principal ground of complaint was, that more than two-thirds of the members of Parliament were nominated by individual peers, or gentlemen of property, and that, as such an assembly did not at all represent the nation, so by their acts they clearly showed that they deemed the national interests as, at best, but of secondary importance.

On the 10th of November the delegates of the four provinces, with the Earl of Charlemont as their president, met in the Rotunda in Dublin, where they appointed a committee to frame a plan of parliamentary reform.

On the 25th of November the committee reported their plan, and four days afterwards Mr. Flood attempted to bring into Parliament a bill framed on that

report, which was rejected by a very large majority, who properly conceived such a bill, originating with an armed body, to be inconsistent with the dignity of the House, and the freedom of debate.

The *National Convention*, as these delegates styled themselves, finding that Government was not to be alarmed by any threatening attitude, met once more, and for the last time, on the 2nd of December, when they voted an address to the king, and then adjourned indefinitely.

As long as the volunteer system continued in force the laws were obeyed and executed faithfully, but with the decline of that association riots became frequent, and discontents on political and commercial affairs were fomented on all sides. In many parts of the country the journeymen mechanics and manufacturers proceeded to the barbarous outrage of tarring and feathering such persons as were particularly obnoxious to them. The mob and the garrison of Dublin were frequently in collision, and a savage, though by no means a novel, custom of houghing soldiers who were found straggling about increased so much, that an act was passed, compelling the city of Dublin to provide for every soldier so disabled, during the remainder of his life.

The next subject to which public attention was directed was Catholic Emancipation.

On the 7th of June, 1784, an assembly of the citizens of Dublin, convened by the sheriffs, among other resolutions, declared, "That to extend the rights of suf-

frage to their Roman Catholic brethren would be a measure fraught with the happiest consequences, and highly conducive to civil liberty." The meeting also invited the people to depute five persons from every county and large town, to assemble in Dublin on the 25th of the following October, and form what they called a National Congress. This congress, notwithstanding all the attempts of the Government to prevent its assembling, met on the day appointed; but, as its organization was very incomplete, it was adjourned till the 20th of January, 1785, when 200 delegates again met, and passed a resolution voting an application to Parliament, but couched in such general terms as left the mode of redress altogether undefined. Though this meeting of the citizens of Dublin was the first attempt made by Protestants to obtain Catholic Emancipation, if we except some very slight demonstrations made by the Volunteers of Ulster, in an address to their general, the Earl of Charlemont, yet the Roman Catholics themselves had not been idle.

As early as the year 1757 a Roman Catholic committee had been formed in Dublin for the management of the political concerns of that body. The first meeting was held at the Globe coffee-house, in Essex Street, and was composed of Mr. Charles O'Connor, Dr. Curry, Mr. Wyse of Waterford, Dr. Jennings, Mr. Antony M'Dermott, Mr. James Reynolds, the grand-uncle of the subject of these memoirs, and one more gentleman. Their numbers however soon increased, and they conducted all their proceedings with

the utmost secrecy. The members were partly elected and returned by towns and districts, and their proceedings were regulated by established forms; but the times were not then ripe for much concession; still some little progress was made.

About the year 1775 the committee consisted of about a hundred members, though seldom more than twenty or thirty met. They framed and presented petitions to Parliament from time to time, under the sanction of Government, and thus gradually obtained considerable modifications of the penal laws. The committee was at that time composed of the principal Roman Catholic nobility and great landed proprietors. Men of ability or influence, and of known loyalty were associated by them without any sort of election, so that the number of members was never limited. Three or four generally acted as managers, advising with the others, as they found it necessary; and, as these three or four chief actors had little else than turmoil or trouble for their pains, their prominent situations were not at all envied.

Thus matters went on till about the end of 1786. The general improvement of trade and industry had then raised up in all the larger towns a great number of easy proprietors among the Roman Catholic merchants and traders. These men, looking to the still remaining severities of the penal code, dreaded the impediments they presented to the future employment of their growing fortunes, and the advancement of their children: the most turbulent naturally took the lead,

and desirous of distinguishing themselves, they represented to their hearers that the old committee were all aristocrats, who only sought the repeal of such laws as affected their own order, and these very slowly. They even went so far as to say that they acted in connivance with the Castle, meaning the executive government, to depress and keep back the Catholic body at large. These manœuvres brought strong remonstrances from many places to the committee, who in consequence agreed to associate members, as representatives, or delegates, from all the cities and chief places in the kingdom. This measure enlarged the committee greatly; but the members for distant places rarely attended in Dublin, so that the old committee was seldom outnumbered by the new members, but thenceforward there were two distinct parties—the aristocratic party, or original committee, and the democratic party, chiefly composed of the wealthy Roman Catholic inhabitants of Dublin: these latter were generally outnumbered, but they were constantly intriguing, debating, and caballing, out-of-doors, as well as at the meetings. The most prominent opposers of the old committee were John Keogh, a silk-mercer; Edward Byrne, a sugar-baker; Randall MacDonnell, a sugar-baker, partner to Byrne; Hugh Daniell, an ironmonger; Thomas Braughall, a retired merchant; Valentine O'Connor, a merchant; John Sweetman, a brewer; William James MacNevin, a physician; Thomas Warren, a silk-manufacturer; Nicholas Mahon, a merchant; and Richard MacCormick, a stuff-

manufacturer; all residents of Dublin, constant and regular attendants and debaters. Of these the only man of real abilities was MacNevin: Keogh was a pompous, forward man; * Byrne purse-proud and ignorant to a notorious degree, as to everything out of the routine of his trade; Braughall was well informed and acute, but afraid to act or speak manfully, lest he should commit himself in some way: he always had a loophole to slip out of an argument. The others merely formed the chorus of the piece.

The struggle went on for some years in the committee; the old party combating for what was ludicrously termed "tranquil emancipation," the new members urging decided demands of what they considered to be the meaning of the Treaty of Limerick. At length, in 1792, one Dr. M'Kenna published a pamphlet under the sanction of government, which he entitled "Tranquil Emancipation," and for which he made no secret of having been paid by the Treasury. This at once set all the new party in a flame; a meeting of the committee was called; and after long and furious debates a string of the most violent resolutions against M'Kenna, his pamphlet, and the government who employed him, were proposed. The Earl of Fingall, a nobleman advanced in years, and who had long

* "Poor Gog!" (the nickname given to Keogh by Mr. Tone) "his vanity, of which he has plenty, has got a mortal blow—he has not strength of mind to co-operate fairly, must do all, or seem to do all, himself. A dirty personal jealousy, lest Burke and M'Kenna might interfere with his own fame, is at the bottom of all; little-minded! paltry!"—Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. i. page 179.

presided over the Catholic Committee, was, as usual, in the chair: he refused to put the resolutions, and the meeting was adjourned to the following evening. On the second evening Lord Fingall had again taken the chair and opened the business, when Randall M'Donnell entered the room, accompanied by most of the persons above named, and followed by twenty or thirty others, walked up to the chairman, told him he was an old woman, unfit to sit there, and desired him to leave the chair and make room for one more fit to occupy it. He then seized his lordship by the arm to thrust him out. Lord Fingall did not resist; he rose, and immediately withdrew, followed by all his party. Thomas Braughall was then placed in the chair, and put all the resolutions they desired.*

Sixty-four of the seceders speedily signed and presented an address to the lord lieutenant, declaring their perfect confidence in government, their contentment with the manner in which the Roman Catholic interests were advancing, and their disavowal of all the hasty and violent measures of those who now acted as the Catholic Committee.

The democratic party, on their side, addressed the Roman Catholics at large through the agency of their parish clergy, explained the motives of their conduct in their own way, and invited the whole body to choose representatives, who should meet in Dublin and pro-

* This account I have taken from my father's minutes. He was present, and retired with the seceders.

nounce decidedly as to the opinions and interests of their constituents, and adopt such measures as would best accord with the one and promote the other.

The call was obeyed after much intrigue and delay; and what has been denominated the Catholic Convention met in consequence in Dublin on the 3rd of December, 1792, to the number of about 300 persons.

It was remarkable that the county of Wexford chose a Protestant gentleman, named Sweetman, as its representative on this occasion, who was complimented by the convention by being selected as one of their delegates to lay their petition at the foot of the throne, and who lost his life on the occasion in London in a duel.

The proceedings of the convention were conducted by Mr. John Keogh, Mr. Thomas Braughall, and the others who had convened the meeting, aided by Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a Protestant, whom they had engaged as their secretary, and by Mr. Burke, the son of the well-known Edmund Burke, also a Protestant, who had been sent over from England by his father for the purpose. Mr. Richard MacCormick, a highly respectable Roman Catholic inhabitant of Dublin, officiated nominally as secretary, in order to keep up appearances. They made violent declarations against the Irish executive government, from whom they said they expected no justice; they therefore chose some of their own body to lay their grievances, in the form of an address, at the foot of the throne, taking no manner of notice of the lord lieutenant, whom they affected

to pass over with marked insolence: indeed, one of the members, Christopher Dillon Bellew, said plainly that he intended disrespect to the administration.*

They sat in Back-lane during seven days, and, having placed their interests in the care of nine of the old democratic body, as a sort of permanent sub-committee, they broke up, declaring that "they would never meet again as Roman Catholics, but that all their future proceedings should be in unison with the rest of their aggrieved countrymen, as Irishmen, not as sectaries."

Having chosen Mr. Burke as their agent, in the hope of receiving the benefit of his father's advice and assistance for their delegates in London, they voted him the sum of £2,300 0 0

They also voted to Mr. Tone, as their secretary . .	1,500	0	0
To Mr. Tone, to purchase a medal	34	2	6
To the Honourable Simon Butler	500	0	0
To Mr. William Todd Jones .	1,000	0	0
For a statue of the king, never more thought of . . .	2,000	0	0
	£7,334	2	6

The funds to pay these votes were to be subsequently collected among the Catholics at large, by the members of the convention on their return home, and to be transmitted by them to Mr. Edward Byrne, in Dublin.

The delegates, instead of going direct to England,

* See the Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. i. p. 82.

went in great parade through the north of Ireland, which is chiefly inhabited by Protestant Dissenters. The reason assigned by Mr. Tone for that roundabout way is rather strange; he says—"It so happened that there was no packet-boat ready in the harbour, and the wind was contrary!" Whatever may be thought of the excuse, it is evident that the writer considered some excuse necessary.*

The delegates were publicly received and feasted at Belfast, passed over to Scotland, and in the same ostentatious manner paraded up to London, where they were presented to and very graciously received by the king on the 2nd of January, 1793,† notwithstanding the violence of their proceedings and the affront they had just put upon the lord lieutenant and all the executive government of Ireland; and during that same year those concessions were made which placed the Irish Roman Catholics on the footing on which they stood previous to the year 1829, while those of England were still left to suffer under the heavy restrictions and disabilities inflicted by the penal code.

Whatever causes might have induced ministers to make those concessions at such very remarkable epochs, it is very certain that the people were taught to believe that these, as well as those of Dungannon, were extorted from the fears of the government by the active energy of the conventions: the more so, because at that period a law was made to prevent all future conventions

* See the Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 87.

† See Appendix No. 4, for a copy of their celebrated petition.

or assemblies, chosen by election, for the purpose of petitioning; and, far from being thankful for what was conceded, the Roman Catholics only considered these relaxations of the penal code as the reacquisition of a part of their rights, and as a step towards the acquisition of others more important.

Having thus brought the account of the Catholic Convention down to the year 1793, we must now go back a few years, in order to complete the picture of the distractions which agitated Ireland during the ten years that preceded the formation of the United Irish Association.

About the year 1785 or 1786 an insurrection, originating in the county of Kerry, quickly spread through that of Cork and other parts of Munster; and, though the lower orders of the peasantry were the only class who ostensibly took any part in it, yet their systematic proceedings too clearly showed that they were put forward and encouraged by persons of a higher walk in life. They assembled in large bodies of several hundreds, and marched through the country, unarmed, administering oaths of obedience to Captain Right, whence they were called Right Boys. The orders of this imaginary chief were, that they should not pay more than a fixed price for the tithes per acre; that they should permit no proctors, nor suffer the minister to draw his tithe. Meantime they offered no opposition to magistrates seizing any of their body who were accused of crime: thus showing a respect for the law hardly to be expected from such men. At first they

met with little or no opposition, till, emboldened by the apathy of the executive government, they proceeded to fix limits to rents, to raise the price of labour, to oppose the collection of hearth-money, and to treat with the most horrid barbarity such persons as were obnoxious to them. At length government interfered, and succeeded in checking them in a great measure, though they were not entirely put down for some years.

About the same year a quarrel between two Presbyterians near Market Hill, in the county of Armagh, led to a feud, which gradually increased in violence, until, having assumed a religious complexion, it spread over the whole of Ireland. The two men, not satisfied with voiding their quarrel by themselves, began by inviting their friends to their assistance, at first without distinction of religious denomination; but as each party increased in numbers they lost sight of their original quarrel, and separated into Roman Catholic and Presbyterian. The Roman Catholics were by far the most numerous, and showed great activity in collecting arms. The Presbyterians adopted the plan of disarming them, and with that view they visited their houses at a very early hour in the morning, whence they obtained the name of Peep-o'-day Boys. In their search they were often guilty of wanton excesses, both on the persons and property of their antagonists.

The Roman Catholics took the name of Defenders, and, as the passions of both parties were much inflamed, they never let pass an opportunity of attacking one another, and bloodshed and murder were too often the

result. In the year 1787 the violence of both parties had assumed an aspect so alarming in the county of Armagh, that two troops of dragoons were sent to quell them, but without success. At last it became a downright religious war, and the most barbarous excesses were resorted to by both sides. Notwithstanding all the exertions of the government, the Defenders, who had long become the aggressors,* extended their associations through the counties of Lowth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, Armagh, Antrim, Down, and the neighbourhood, when General Eustace was sent with a considerable force to suppress them. The following is a specimen, and by no means a solitary one, of their barbarous fanaticism.

Richard Jackson, of Forkhill, in the county of Armagh, died on the 11th of January, 1787, and bequeathed an estate of 4000*l.* a-year for colonizing his property, consisting of 3000 acres, with Protestants, and for establishing on it four schools for the gratuitous instruction of children of every religious denomination. Two years afterwards the Rev. Edward Hudson, rector

* In April, 1793, Mr. Tone thus writes: "The Defenders, at this time, are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation. The first Defenders, properly so called, were associations of Catholics, for the purpose of protecting themselves from the violent depredations of a party known by the name of the Peep-o'-day Boys; into which associations they were forced by the difficulty, or as they stated it, the impossibility, of obtaining justice against the aggressors: they originated several years back, and were confined to the counties of Armagh and Down. The *present* insurgents, with very different principles, have adopted the same name." (See vol. i. page 478.)

of Forkhill, was appointed agent to conduct the charity. The Roman Catholics in the neighbourhood declared they would not allow the establishment to be formed. Accordingly they twice attempted Mr. Hudson's life: the colonists were treated with the greatest brutality; their houses were demolished and their property destroyed. The manor mill was burned, and the miller would have been murdered, had he not escaped naked, by crossing a river in the night. On the 29th of January, 1791, at seven o'clock in the evening, a number of monsters, in human shape, assembled at the house of Alexander Barclay, one of the schoolmasters, who resided in the parish of Forkhill, near Dundalk: they rapped at the door, and he inquired who was there? when one of the party, named Terence Byrne, his near neighbour, whose voice he well knew, and whom he had before, at different times admitted, answered him. He then opened the door, and a number of men rushed in, threw him on his face, and three of them stood on him and stabbed him repeatedly. They then put a cord round his neck, which they tightened so as to force out his tongue, part of which, as far as they could reach, they cut off. They then cut off the four fingers and the thumb of his right hand, and left him on the floor, and proceeded to use his wife in the same manner. To add to their barbarity, they cut out her tongue, and cut off her four fingers and thumb, with a blunt weapon, which operation took them above ten minutes, one or two of them holding up her arm while they committed this inhuman action: they then battered and beat her in a

dreadful manner. Her brother, a boy of thirteen years of age, had come from Armagh that morning to see her. They cut out his tongue, and cut off the calf of his leg, and left them all three in that situation. No reason could be assigned for that most inhuman transaction: the man was a Protestant, a peaceable decent man; he taught above thirty of their children gratis, being allowed a salary by the trustees for forty more. He asked them whether he had ever offended them? they said not; but that was the beginning of what he, and those like him (meaning Protestants), should suffer. This business was a matter of public exultation in the parish; and so far were the perpetrators from wishing to conceal it, that they proceeded on the road with torches, publicly, and in defiance of everybody. This account is taken from the report made by the trustees of the charity to the Bishop of Dromore, which says in conclusion "the man and the boy can speak a little, the woman cannot, and fortunately they are all likely to die; as, if they live, they are incapable of earning their subsistence."

In the years 1792 and 1793 numerous bands of Defenders attacked, pillaged, and murdered Protestants of every denomination, and extended their destructive fury to the counties of Dublin, Roscommon, Westmeath, Donegal, Leitrim, Mayo, Sligo, Derry, Limerick, Wexford, and Kerry. In the county of Lowth alone they plundered a hundred and eighty houses! In some places landlords were obliged to relinquish their rents, and the clergy their tithes, and many families abandoned their houses, and fled to Dublin for protection. At

Dundalk, at one assizes, twenty-two Defenders were sentenced to die, and twenty-five to be transported. A body of about two thousand attacked the town of Wexford, with the avowed design of breaking open the prison, to liberate the prisoners; but they were repulsed, with great slaughter, by Major Vallaton, at the head of a detachment of the 68th regiment. The Major was unfortunately killed by a wound from a scythe-blade fixed to a pole.

Theobald Wolfe Tone tells us that "the Defenders were completely organised on a military plan, divided according to their respective districts, and officered by men chosen by themselves. The principle of their union was implicit obedience to the orders of those whom they had selected for their generals, and whose object was the emancipation of their country, the subversion of English usurpation, and the bettering the condition of the wretched peasantry of Ireland. The oath of their union asserted that they would be faithful to the united nations of France and Ireland."

Emissaries were sent in all directions to inflame the animosities of the people, and to disseminate treasonable principles among them. Illegal oaths were openly administered, and infidel and republican tracts, such as "Payne's Rights of Man," called by Mr. Tone "the Koran of Belfast," were prepared for those who could not be induced to embrace the religious question, so that the whole country was kept in a state of incessant disorder and agitation.

It would occupy too much time to give an account of the numerous outrages and murders they committed,

till at last they became so alarming that the lord lieutenant and council issued a proclamation on the 13th of February, 1793, offering a reward of £100 to any person who would prosecute them; but all the efforts of the executive government failed; and we hear of Defenders as late as 1797, when Lord Kilwarden was sent to Armagh to try them, and several were hanged, as well as some Peep-o'-day Boys. The battle of the Diamond, which has latterly occupied public notice, was fought on the 21st of September, 1795, between the Peep-o'-day Boys and the Defenders; in that action the Defenders were defeated with considerable loss in killed and wounded. It has been said, in justification of the Roman Catholics, that they acted only in their own defence, having been first attacked by the Presbyterians; but, even admitting that to have been the case in the counties of Down and Armagh, there is not the shadow of any such excuse for the outrages committed in the other parts of Ireland above named. There their aggressions were wanton and unprovoked, and evidently showed that more was contemplated than they or their leaders thought fit to acknowledge. The fact is, those leaders had for years been occupied in watching every opportunity of rousing the worst passions of the people, and of goading them on to rebellion; and they were not a little assisted in their projects by the injudicious and oppressive manner in which the country had been governed during the previous century.

Thus, the minds of the people being kept in a constant state of agitation by these feuds and struggles for civil

and religious freedom, formed an easy field for seditious and designing men to work upon, and enabled the Society of United Irishmen, of which a full account will be found in the body of this work, to spread its destructive influence throughout Ireland.

From this imperfect sketch some idea may be formed of the distracted state of Ireland, especially between the years 1782 and 1798. Bands of armed ruffians, under the various names of White Boys, Right Boys, Peep-o'-day Boys, and Defenders, were marching through the country by day and night, murdering, burning, and pillaging in all directions: no man was, or could be, secure in his house; his only chance lay in joining one or other of those parties, as the maxim of each was, that he who was not with them was against them.

In Dublin, though life and property were tolerably secure, yet the violence of party was not less destructive, extending its baneful influence through every grade of society. The Catholic and the Protestant hated each other with a deadly hatred—the great questions of emancipation and reform agitated all ranks—the daily press teemed with seditious and inflammatory productions, while the then secret leaders of the disaffected nourished and fomented those bitter feelings for their own evil purposes. There, as in the country, neutrality was impossible; every man was obliged to embrace one or other party, if he did not desire to be shunned, hated, and persecuted by both.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Reynolds's birth—family—and early years. He is sent to school in England—and afterwards in Flanders—He returns to Dublin on the death of his Father—His early associates—Masqued ball at the Rotunda—its serious consequences. He is seized with a dangerous illness—he sets out on the grand tour with Sir Robert Gerard—Returns to Dublin—During his absence his Mother takes Mr. Warren into partnership—His sister Rose attacked by consumption—he goes with her to Liege—and thence to Paris with Sir Robert Gerard—Sir Robert Gerard's death—Mr. Reynolds returns to Ireland—His sister dies—and his only remaining sister takes the veil. Mr. Valentine O'Connor's proposals—rejected—Mr. Reynolds marries—His property at that time—History of Mr. Thomas Warren—his baseness and ingratitude—Mr. Reynolds takes all the affairs of the house into his own hands.

1771 to 1794.

THOMAS REYNOLDS was born on the 12th of March, 1771, at No. 9, West Park Street, Dublin. Among the innumerable reproaches heaped upon his name during the long period of forty years, much stress has been laid upon the supposed humbleness of his origin, as if the station in life in which a man may have been born could be any reflection upon him. It is remarkable that the persons who have been the most active in decrying his origin are, many of them, those whose chief claim to respectability of family connexion arises from their consanguinity to, or alliance with, different

branches of his family. These circumstances must plead my excuse for entering more largely into our family connexions than my own inclinations under ordinary circumstances would have induced me to do.

My father was the fourth in descent, and the only surviving male heir, of Connor Reynolds, of Rhynn Castle, in the county of Roscommon, who had married the daughter of Sir Robert Nugent, Bart., by whom he left three sons, Connor, George Nugent, and Thomas. On the death of their father, the second son, George Nugent, became a Protestant, and, under the provisions of the 8th Anne, chap. 3, possessed himself of the greater part of the family estates. Rhynn Castle and demesne had been settled on his mother, and, after her death, devolved to the eldest son, Connor. It has since passed into the possession of the Crofton family, subject only to a trifling head-rent of about 25*l.*, which is now paid, or at least was so, as late as the year 1829, to the Byrnes of Ballynakeeny, in the county of Roscommon, who are the heirs, by the female line (the males being all extinct), of Connor. The Michael Byrne whose name occurs hereafter in these Memoirs was of that family.

George Nugent Reynolds, who, by professing Protestantism, obtained possession of the extensive family estates, settled at Latterfian, in the county of Leitrim, and at his death left his property to his only son, who was a very thoughtless extravagant man. The properties were immense; but he contrived to be always in difficulties, from which he occasionally relieved him-

self, by granting very long leases at low rents, in consideration of a sum of money paid down as a fine. He left the estates, thus diminished in value, but not in extent, to his son, who, equally thoughtless and extravagant, continued the same course as his father. This gentleman had a quarrel with a Mr. Keon on some electioneering business in the year 1790. A challenge ensued: the seconds endeavoured to accommodate matters on the ground, and with that view withdrew to a little distance, leaving Mr. Reynolds and Keon by themselves, when Keon, taking advantage of the moment, shot Mr. Reynolds through the heart. He was instantly arrested, and, in order to avoid undue influence on either side, he was removed a prisoner to Dublin, where he was tried, convicted, and executed.

Mr. Reynolds left one son, named George Nugent, who died unmarried in 1802 at Stowe, the seat of his relative, the Marquis of Buckingham, leaving all his property to his two sisters. The estates were so extensive that at the period of the Union six members serving in Parliament derived the whole of their properties from beneficial leases upon them. Thus ended all the males of the two elder branches of the Rhynn family.

Thomas, the youngest son of Connor Reynolds, married Margaret Lacy, the sister of the great Austrian general of that name. They had three sons and one daughter, James, Thomas, Edward, and Jane. James and Edward died without any male issue. Jane married a Mr. Purfield. One of her grandsons, named Meade, went out to Jamaica, where he acquired con-

siderable property. He returned to Dublin a widower, advanced in years, and very infirm, and soon after died, bequeathing an estate in Jamaica, called Fort Stewart, to my father, entailed upon my brother.

Thomas, the second son of Thomas Reynolds and Margaret Lacy, was my father's grandfather. He married an English lady, and died at a very advanced age, leaving three daughters and one son, named Andrew. By the marriage of the three daughters, who were my father's aunts, he became connected with the Moores of Mount Brown, Sir William Jerningham, of Cossory Hall in Norfolk, the O'Connors of Ballynagar, in the county of Roscommon, the O'Reillies of Dublin, and other families of distinction. The last-named connexion, however, cost the family dear. The three brothers, Thomas, Patrick, and Andrew O'Reilly, who were my father's first cousins, led away by a passion for speculation, and having about 100,000*l.* at their command, undertook to work the ancient and almost lost iron-mines at Arigna, in the county of Leitrim, and to establish an immense wire-drawing manufactory on the Liffy, near Dublin, which they called New Holland, and from which they undertook to supply wire for the entire consumption of the kingdom; and the Irish Parliament, hoping to encourage home manufacturers, prohibited all importation of wire from foreign parts. The brothers went on admirably for two years, making a rapid fortune, and satisfying every one, as well with the quantity, as with the quality and price of the article they supplied; but the Arigna mines absorbed much

faster than they could furnish money, and made no return, while the increasing cotton-works throughout the kingdom caused so great an increase in the demand for wire, that New Holland could no longer satisfy the call without additional force of works. In this dilemma the brothers had recourse to smuggling. They entered a ship-load of madder from Holland at the port of Dublin. Some suspicion arose at the Custom House: the casks were opened, and were found to contain Dutch wire, covered over with a slight casing of madder. This discovery was so injurious to them, that from that time their prosperity declined, until they became totally ruined, and were never afterwards able to re-establish themselves in business. My grandfather lent them 21,000*l.*, for about 2000*l.* of which he received a lien on the Arigna property, and that was all he ever could recover of the debt. Thomas O'Reilly, the son of the eldest of these brothers, was placed as a clerk in the house of Gordon and Co. of London, who, about the year 1807 or 1808, sent him out to Cadiz on their concerns. He there obtained an introduction to an old lady of great Spanish connexions, the widow of the famous Spanish General O'Reilly. To that lady he made it appear that he was a relative of her late husband, and through her means he obtained such exclusive privileges in trade to Buenos Ayres, that he rapidly acquired a considerable fortune, and returned to England in five or six years with 60,000*l.* or 70,000*l.* He there married a Miss O'Callaghan, and settled in London, still continuing his mercantile affairs under

the firm of O'Reilly, Winterbottom, and Young, until the year 1817, when the house failed.

Andrew Reynolds, my grandfather, married his second cousin, Rose Fitzgerald. This lady was the eldest child of Thomas Fitzgerald, of Kilmead, in the county of Kildare, the intimate friend and near relation of William Duke of Leinster, being descended from the Earls of Kildare. He left one son, Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, my father's uncle, whose only surviving son, Colonel Fitzgerald, my father's cousin-german, died very lately at Kilmead.

My father's maternal aunts were Mrs. Delamar of Lakin, in the county of Westmeath, whose husband was high-sheriff of that county; Mrs. Keon of Keonbrook, in the county of Leitrim; and Anne Fitzgerald, a professed nun, in the King-street convent in Dublin, of whom I must speak again in another place.

His grandfather, Thomas Fitzgerald, had several sisters. One married Mr. Strange, and had an only daughter, who married Sir Edward Bellew, of Bermeath, in the county of Lowth, Bart. Another married Mr. Molloy of Wexford; and on the death of her husband she joined her niece, Anne Fitzgerald, in King-street nunnery, where she died at a very advanced age. This is the lady whom I shall be unhappily compelled to notice, in conjunction with Miss Fitzgerald, as having acted a very unworthy part towards their nephew. Another sister married a Mr. Warren of Killeen, in the Queen's County, and, as their family was large, Thomas, the youngest son, was adopted by my grand-

father, on account of the scantiness of the Killeen property, which was worth only about 200*l.* a-year. This Thomas Warren afterwards married a Miss Archdekin, by whom he left a numerous family. Thomas Warren and one of his sons distinguished themselves, as will be seen hereafter, by their ingratitude towards the family of their benefactor.

Such were the immediate and close relatives of my father's mother; but her more remote connexions extended to almost all the Catholic nobility, and to several of the old Protestant families of rank, throughout Ireland.

Thus I have brought down all the family of my grandfather and grandmother to themselves; but in Ireland the claims of relationship, once acquired, were never considered as obliterated so long as it was possible to trace them. The names of Connor and Nugent, added to our family name, sufficiently indicate our former connexion with those families, in the same manner as that of Fitzgerald does more recently. Connor Reynolds's eldest son retained the name of Connor, which died in his posterity: while the second son received that of Nugent, in consequence of the marriage of his father with the daughter of Sir Robert Nugent, and his posterity retained the name of Nugent until it became extinct in his great-grandson, George Nugent Reynolds. The O'Connors were again allied to our family by the marriage of O'Connor of Ballynagar with my father's cousin-german, Jane Moore. The great families of Nugent always received and

considered my father as one of themselves, distinguishing him in conversation by the name of Fitzgerald Reynolds, from the name of his mother. He was always a welcome guest at Clonlost, at Dysart, and at Dunmore, which are three capital seats of the Nugents in the county of Westmeath; and when the Marquis (afterwards the Duke) of Buckingham was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his lady and her aunt, Miss Nugent, went continually to visit at my grandmother's. My grandfather was then dead, and a week never passed without one or both of them going to breakfast or dine in the family, considering them as their own relations. The Marchioness was a Miss Nugent, only child and heiress of the great Earl of Clare.* George Nugent Reynolds returned with the Marquis when he left Ireland, and died at Stowe. There was a family named Reynell, at Reynellagh, in Westmeath, where my father was also received as a relation, but I do not know in what line. Both my grandfather and my grandmother reckoned the De Lacies among their ancestors. This De Lacy family claimed to be descended from the De Lacy who had been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland during the reign of Henry II., was Prince of Meath and Earl of Ulster in 1179, married the daughter of Roderic O'Connor, and was killed in 1188. The De Lacies also claim descent from the old princes of Desmond.

All these matters are now idle and foolish, but for-

* Not the present family who bear that title; their name is Fitzgibbon: they are a new creation.

merly in Ireland (as they who know anything of that country, as it was in the last century, can testify) these claims of kindred were well recognised, and carried much weight among the Irish.

My grandfather, Andrew Reynolds, and Rose his wife, had fourteen children; two sons and twelve daughters. Of these one son and five daughters died in their infancy.

The difficulties under which the Roman Catholics laboured when Thomas, the son of Connor Reynolds of Rhynn, found himself deprived of all inheritance, left him no other resource for subsistence than commerce or foreign service: he chose the former, and settled as a wool-stapler in Dublin. The extended connexions of his family enabled him to procure great quantities of wool in the fleece, which were sorted in his stores into their various qualities, and either exported or sold to the wool-combers for home consumption. In this business he acquired considerable wealth, of which his eldest son, James, inherited the largest portion, together with the business: all of which he (James) left to the Purfields, in consequence of some disagreement between him and his brother, my great-grandfather, which was carried so far that the brothers would not suffer their respective families to be interred in the same burial-ground. James was interred with his father at Churchtown, near Dublin: Saint Doolaghs, about five miles from Dublin, on the Malahyde road, is the burial-place of my grandfather and his family.

My great-grandfather was engaged in a branch of

business still connected with the wool-trade; the manufacture of stuffs, all of wool, named poplins. Afterwards, when my grandfather embarked in the silk business, he made experiments on these poplins, by having the warp of silk, and the weft, or shoot, of worsted; and that was the origin of those poplins which have been so prized in foreign countries as Irish tabinets. They were at first made very stout for gentlemen's court-dresses: afterwards a more slight and a softer kind were invented for ladies' wear.

There was not any description of silks manufactured in Ireland previous to my grandfather's time; all were imported from England and France. This induced him to employ considerable capital in establishing that manufacture, and he succeeded to his utmost expectations; but the first outlay was immense, as well on account of the value of the raw material, as because he was obliged to bring over from England and France dyers, dressers, throwsters, and workpeople of every description; to provide them all with looms, tackling, and all other necessaries; to construct dye-houses, drying-lofts, and other extensive buildings; and, when all was completed, he could not dispose of the manufactured goods otherwise than on a credit of twelve and eighteen months to the mercers who retailed them, so that he actually disbursed about 150,000*l.* before he ever received a guinea in return; but when the business was in full operation the profits amounted to from 15,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* a-year, and this great prosperity continued for many years.

Such were the prospects to which my father was born, and such the families with whom he was connected.

The first years of my father's life were passed mostly at Kilmead, the seat of his maternal grandfather, in the county of Kildare, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Plunkett, a Roman Catholic priest. He remained there till he was eight years old, when he was sent to Dr. Crawfurd's school at Chiswick, near London. Dr. Crawfurd was a Protestant clergyman, and his school was at that time one of the best and most celebrated in England. He was placed there as a parlour-boarder. The school was composed of eight parlour-boarders, and about sixty other lads. The parlour-boarders lived entirely at the Doctor's table, and joined in all his society as part of his family. In their walks they were usually accompanied by the Doctor himself, who very rarely intrusted that duty to an usher. My father passed four years in that establishment: during the three first he went but little out, as the other boys did, except occasionally for a day to dine at Mr. Barnewell's or at Mr. Golding's, in London: those gentlemen were merchants, correspondents of his father. But during the last year he passed all the vacations in the house of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who appeared to take pleasure in teaching him the first principles of drawing, in which he was afterwards a very tolerable proficient.

The history of England, particularly the reign of Henry VIII., the Reformation, and the Revolution

which led to the expulsion of the Stuarts, were favourite and never-ending topics of the Doctor in their boating or walking expeditions. He omitted no pains to ground his young pupils in the principles of the Protestant faith, and when my father quitted the institution he had more knowledge on that head than many grown men.

He had a kind of dread and suspicion of everything that was Romish, and, as he has himself declared to me on many occasions, if he afterwards showed himself forward in the Catholic cause, it arose in no degree from a religious feeling, but from that kind of feeling which is created and kept up by the consciousness of being oppressed, and by the exulting tyranny of the oppressors. His family was marked as a determined leading Catholic family,—their opponents seemed to consider them as fair game,—and opposition to Protestant ascendancy had become a kind of clannish principle among them. But the aversion was not to Protestants as such, but to the odious and tyrannical oppression with which they governed. My father's aunt was married to Peter Delamar, a leading Protestant. Two of my father's sisters afterwards married Protestants, as did he himself also; and his parents, in the very height of Protestant tyranny and Catholic degradation, sent him, their only son, to be educated among Protestants, and under the care and tuition of a Protestant clergyman. If, subsequently, when the greatest part of the disabilities affecting the Catholics had been removed, the pressure of Protestant ascend-

ancy became less felt, and party feeling proportionally diminished, can it be wondered at, that he openly professed the only religion in which he had ever been grounded ?

In the beginning of the year 1783 he was removed from Dr. Crawfurd's care, and sent to Liege in French Flanders, to a seminary held by a community of men who had been Jesuits, and who had obtained that establishment when their order was suppressed. They were all Englishmen excepting two, Pere Launay, a man upwards of eighty years of age, who had been preceptor to Voltaire, and Pere Nicholas, a French Jesuit, who came to Liege as private tutor to Sir Robert Gerard, and who resided in an out-building attached to the convent. Neither of these men interfered in the affairs of the establishment. There were sixteen of the original Jesuits, eight or nine who had been received into the order subsequently to its dissolution, and eighteen or twenty professed persons, who acted as lay-brothers or servants. The number of students varied from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and fifty, divided into eight distinct forms or classes, each having its own separate master and school-room, its separate desk in the hall, its distinct table at meals, and its own sleeping-quarters. The three lowest classes had a play-ground in common ; the three next had another play-ground for their sole use ; the seventh and eighth, named Philosophy and Theology, being composed of young men, and never above eight or ten in number, went where they pleased, and had the free

use of the immense gardens belonging to the house, from which all the other students were debarred. These two last wore black cassocks, and the bead cravat of the order. The others wore a maroon-colour cloth coat with black collar, and black waistcoat and breeches: the undress was a grey frieze surtout. Every lad had a separate bed, enclosed by a wooden partition. The diet was excellent and abundant, and great attention was paid to the study of the classics; but (as in our public schools in England at that time, and even now) religion, and all modern languages, modern history, geography, writing, and cyphering, were sadly neglected: provided the outward appearances, and regular attendances on mass, and other church ceremonies, were punctually complied with, all went on smoothly. Catechisms were never thought of; religious instruction never heard of; the "Lives of the Saints," "St. Francis de Sales," and "St. Ignatius Loyola," were now and then seen in the boys' desks: they might read them if they pleased, but always without prejudice to their classical studies, which alone were attended to.

Young Sir Robert Gerard, an English baronet, who on his coming of age would have inherited twelve or fifteen thousand a-year, arrived at Liege a few weeks after my father. They were placed in the same class, and continued to go through all their studies together. Constant companions, they soon became inseparable friends. He was a youth of very great abilities, and my father had often to thank him for the assistance which always enabled him to retain a place among the

six first in his classes, to whom many agreeable and enviable privileges were allowed. My father remained in the college five years, and returned to Ireland in the spring of 1788, a few weeks before the death of his father—of that father whom he had so little known, and whose loss, though he was not then aware of it, threw a dark shade over the remainder of his existence.

When my father returned to Dublin, the affairs of the house were in a much less prosperous condition than they had formerly been.

About the year 1784 the introduction of cottons occasioned so great a falling off in the consumption of silks, that five or six great mercers failed at once, and my grandfather lost in that year alone 83,000*l.*, and during the four subsequent years he lost 69,000*l.* more. Had the consumption continued as it had previously been, the profits during these last four years would have lightened these losses considerably; but, such was the falling off, that, of four hundred looms which were in full work in 1783, seventy only were employed in 1788. Moreover, those in 1783 were employed on brocades, velvets, and tissues, many worth three and four guineas a yard; whereas those of 1788 were making poplins, and slight goods, of three or four shillings a yard. My grandfather also sustained great losses by loans of money which he made to the O'Reillies, and to his cousin Edward Reynolds; so that he calculated that his losses, during the last four or five years of his life, fell little, if at all, short of 200,000*l.* sterling. At the time of his death, which took place

on the 8th of May, 1788, many of the bankruptcies, by which his losses were occasioned, were still unsettled, so that he could not tell within many thousands of pounds how his property would turn out. All his children were still young; he therefore by his will gave the whole of his property to his widow, to be disposed of as she should think proper for her own and his children's support, making her sole executrix and guardian to the children.

Some houses in Dublin, and a small property near Rathfarnham, had been bequeathed to my father by his grandfather, the whole being worth about 400*l.* a year. His grandfather had also bequeathed him a sum of 500*l.* in cash, which had been placed out by his father for him in a tontine, and was then worth about 1500*l.*; so that my father had about 500*l.* a year, which would become his own independent property when he came of age. He might also reasonably expect a share of his father's property, whenever it should be realised.

The family at this time consisted of my grandmother, my father, and seven of his sisters—of these, three died within a very few years. Julia, the eldest, was in a convent at Liege, where she had been sent for her education. Maria, the second, married Mr. Francis Prendergast, who was deputy registrar of the Court of Chancery; she died in consequence of an illness which followed her second accouchement. She left a son and a daughter. An estrangement arose between my father and this gentleman in consequence of some family matters, which was not reconciled when my father quitted

Ireland, and, Mrs. Prendergast dying soon afterwards, one or two friendly letters passed on that sad occasion, and from that time all intercourse ceased. Eliza, who was three years younger than her sister Maria, married Mr. Thomas Edmund Weir, an attorney, residing in Eccles-street, Dublin. Her health was very delicate, and she died in childbed of her first child, a daughter, who survived her. The same circumstance which had caused an estrangement with Mr. Prendergast had also done so with Mr. Weir; and after Eliza's death all acquaintance ended with him also. My aunts were both Roman Catholics, and their husbands Protestants.

Thus in the space of a very few years, of so numerous a family, there remained but my father and two of his sisters, Julia and Rose, and even this little remnant was soon to be still further reduced.

On my grandfather's death, my father, who was then a thoughtless inexperienced lad of seventeen years of age, was left almost to his own guidance, without any kind of restraint, pushed forward in a career of politics and family business, for neither of which he possessed the requisite knowledge or experience. His mother, as his guardian, allowed him 100*l.* a year out of his own revenue for his private expenses. He lived in her house and at her table; his horse was kept in her stable at her expense; her servants attended him as their master; he remained at home or went out in Dublin, or visiting his numerous connexions in the country, at his pleasure. He was uncontrolled in every respect. The Honourable Simon Butler, the eldest son of Lord

Mountgarret; the Honourable Valentine Lawless, the son and heir of Lord Cloncurry; the sons of Sir Samuel Broadstreet; William Armit, then employed under his uncle, Sir Harcourt Lees, in the Post Office; Hammy Stuart, a gentleman in the household of the lord lieutenant; two dashing brothers, Quakers, of the name of Jessop, and a few more of such dissipated idlers, formed his constant Dublin companions.

My grandfather had been a delegate in the Catholic Committee until his death, when his widow immediately procured the election of my father, who was thus placed in a prominent political situation at an age when he ought to have been kept to the business or profession which was to form his future course of life.

In the course of his dissipated life my father became acquainted with a young woman, who led him into some follies and many considerable extravagancies; among others was a masquerade, ball, and supper, given at the Rotunda rooms for the benefit of the unemployed manufacturers. He went there with this young woman; and, as it was for the benefit of the manufacturers, his mother assisted in dressing him, and placed, as a button in his hat, the head of a large diamond pin, in the form of a cluster, which was part of the effects left to him by Mr. John Meade, and which were in his mother's keeping. The diamond was worth fifty or sixty pounds. He passed a very gay night, and returned home at eight or nine o'clock next morning, half dead with fatigue, without a shilling in his pocket, and the diamond pin gone. The whole had been transferred to the young woman, at

whose lodgings he had been from three in the morning till his return home. Thomas Warren, who had been adopted by my grandfather, as I before stated, was at the masquerade, and had seen them together when they unmasked at supper, and before his arrival in the morning, Mr. Warren had told his mother what company he had been with.

The young woman had made out a tale of wanting some 60*l.* or 70*l.*; my father had 24*l.* or 25*l.* in his pocket, and he lent her the pin to pawn to raise the remainder, intending to redeem it in a few days. His mother was waiting his arrival, and had scarcely begun a lecture on his dissipation, when she missed the pin from his hat. My father assured her it should be restored in a day or two, but nothing would pacify her; she called it robbery, and vowed she would send the constables after the girl, when my father remarked that in fact the pin was his property, and not hers; still she was very much and very properly displeased: so that all the house became acquainted with the fact. Meantime my father went to his bed, and when he got up in the evening he found his head giddy and his stomach sick. Mr. Garrat Fitzgerald, who was a relative, and the medical attendant of the family, was sent for; but next day, his illness having assumed a more dangerous appearance, Dr. Purcell was called in, and declared it to be a putrid fever of the most malignant kind: his life was long despaired of, and he was seven weeks confined to his bed. But, once able to leave his room, he recovered very rapidly: a sea-voyage and change of

air were advised. He had maintained a regular correspondence with his college friend Gerard; and during his illness a letter had arrived from him, saying, he was about to quit Liege, and to make the grand tour with his tutor, the Père Nicolas, and inviting my father to be of the party. Nothing could be more opportune. He embarked at the port of Dublin in a Dutch merchant-vessel for Rotterdam, where in fifteen days he landed in excellent health and spirits.

The diamond pin was never mentioned more, nor ever thought of, until Warren and a man in my grandmother's employ, named Sullivan, made it the ground of a charge against my father on the trials in 1798, in order, if possible, to injure his credit. Warren at the same time accused my father of having stolen silks from his mother's warehouse. The fact was, his mother and Mrs. Warren had continually gowns cut from any silk they fancied for their own use, of which no account was taken. My father had twice or three times a gown in like manner cut off for this young woman; it was done openly in the ware-room, but Warren and the clerks had particular charge not to tell his mother. Delicacy, duty, and respect made him naturally anxious to conceal such a connexion from her. The charge was made in the hope that my father would deny or attempt to gloss it over; but he foiled the base attempt by openly avowing the fact. This young woman, soon after my father quitted Dublin to travel with Sir Robert Gerard, went to England, where she became a great favourite of the late Duke of Bed-

ford. About the time of that nobleman's death she married a wealthy Dutch merchant, and lived respectably and independently at Amsterdam.

My father found Sir Robert Gerard waiting for him at Liege; it was arranged that they should visit Spa and Aix-la-Chapelle, and then go on and pass the winter at Paris. Sir Robert Gerard's uncle, who was his guardian, had joined in the invitation to my father, and all his family seemed pleased at their travelling together.

In consequence of their numerous introductions they passed a very agreeable time at Paris; and in the spring of 1789 they set off, by way of Geneva, for Italy. On reaching Milan Sir Robert Gerard became unwell; and having consulted the physicians of the place, they declared it might be fatal to him if he proceeded through the marshes of Rome, and strongly advised his return northwards to a more bracing climate. The young men did so accordingly, and arrived in Paris the first week in July. But Paris was then becoming an unpleasant residence for those who only sought amusement; and the attack on the Bastile, which took place ten or twelve days after their arrival, so alarmed Père Nicolas that he resolved to return to Liége. Mr Alexander Jaffray, a very wealthy Quaker of Dublin, who had been an old and intimate friend of my grandfather, had been travelling on the continent for his amusement, and passed through Liége, on his return to Ireland, a few days after their arrival. He proposed to take my father back with him—an offer which was

accepted; and bidding adieu to Sir Robert Gerard, my father arrived in Dublin in August, 1789.

My grandmother, being totally unacquainted with mercantile affairs, had, during my father's tour, made arrangements with Thomas Warren, who had been a clerk in the house for many years, that he should abandon every other concern and take the entire management of her business, for which he was to receive one-third of the yearly profits, which then amounted to about 2500*l.*; so that his share would produce him 800*l.* or 900*l.* a year net. He was not required to put in a shilling of capital. The entire capital belonged to my grandmother; and all the houses, warehouses, &c., as well as three others adjoining, belonged to my father. The partnership placed a yearly rent of 200*l.* to his credit for them, but they had no lease. My grandmother, in the articles of partnership, retained a right to place, whenever she thought fit, any one of her children as a partner on an equal footing with Warren, by giving such child one-half of her own two-thirds. Her intention was to hold that provision open for my father if he should choose that line of life, although in fact she never was very anxious that he should embark in trade if any other course could be struck out for him. The succession of visits which he was encouraged to pay after his return to Ireland greatly indisposed him for any serious occupation. He made continual visits to his grandfather, at Kilmead; his uncle, at Geraldine; his uncle Delamar, at Lakin, in Westmeath; Mrs. Nugent, at

Clonlost, in the same county; his uncle Keon, at Keonbrook, in the county of Leitrim; Nugent Reynolds, at Letterfian, in the same county; O'Brian Bellingham, at Castle Bellingham, in the county of Louth; his uncle Strange, in the same county; Sir Patrick Bellew, in the same county, &c. &c. He had also a regular invitation to the Duke of Leinster's, at Cartown, for the week of the spring meeting on the Curragh; and another at Mr. Carrol's, at Ballinure, in the county of Kildare, for the first week of fox-hunting: that gentleman had a fine pack of fox-hounds, which ran three days during the first week. Mr. Carrol's house at that time was full of company. He gave balls on the three alternate evenings; forty or fifty persons slept in the house; and every person of the rank of a gentleman, within twenty miles round, was invited to the balls. When my father was in Dublin he was every evening engaged with his old companions, so that he was fit for anything but business. It must be confessed that such a life was most improper for a young man, and especially for one who, like my father, possessed only a small income, and should have been placed at once at the desk.

Thus matters went on until the spring of 1791, when my father's youngest remaining sister, Rose, was attacked by a complaint in her chest, accompanied by a little, short cough, and other symptoms of that fatal disorder, consumption, so very frequent in Ireland.

Rose was then a fine healthy looking young woman, twenty-five years of age. She had a capital half-

bred hunter, which she rode four or five days in the week, and managed with great address.

Mr. Garrat Fitzgerald, the medical attendant of the family, called one day to pay a chance visit, and was sitting with my grandmother, when Rose came in from her ride, and in high spirits ran into the drawing-room, where she remained a quarter of an hour giving an account of her ride; she then retired to change her dress, and Mr. Fitzgerald, without making any remark, invited himself to dinner. He remained until the time for the theatre, where he passed most of his evenings, being an intimate friend of Daly, the manager. Rose played the piano, and sang with all her usual spirits. Next day Mr. Fitzgerald returned to breakfast, and after chatting an hour desired to speak with my grandmother. He then told her that, having the day before observed a particular flush on Rose's cheek when she ran into the room from her ride, and also remarked one or two little "*hem, hems*" while she spoke, he had invited himself to stay dinner for the purpose of pursuing his observations, and had again returned at breakfast-time to see her; the result of all which was a full conviction on his mind that she had a decided attack of consumption, notwithstanding her apparent health, good appetite, and spirits; and he seriously advised my grandmother not to lose a day in sending her to a warmer and a dryer climate, which he said might perhaps save her. My grandmother could not credit it, upon which Mr. Fitzgerald desired that my father might be called. He again repeated his opinion, and

added that he thought it doubtful whether a better climate would save her; he solemnly declared he was convinced she would not live nine months in Ireland. My grandmother went off immediately to her aunts, Mrs. Strange and Mrs. Molloy, who thought, as she did, that Mr. Fitzgerald was a dreamer. They however agreed to have a meeting next evening in King-street. Mr. Fitzgerald was present, and repeated his opinion if possible more decidedly; the consequence was a determination to consult Drs. Purcell and Andrew Daly, the two most eminent physicians then in Dublin. Mrs. Molloy was ailing, and had them called in as if for herself, for fear of alarming Rose; but they were fully instructed that their advice was intended really for my aunt. My grandmother and her daughter were sitting with Mrs. Molloy, when Mr. Fitzgerald and the two physicians entered. After some general advice to Mrs. Molloy, Dr. Purcell began to chat with my grandmother and my aunt on indifferent matters. They remained a full hour, and then retired to speak in private with my grandmother, when they more than confirmed all Mr. Fitzgerald had said. They told her Rose appeared to be decidedly attacked, and that she should be sent to the south of France as speedily as possible, and that until her departure she should ride out to the foot of the mountains and drink goats' whey every morning before breakfast, to keep up her strength as long as possible; for they said a few weeks would make a very decided alteration in her strength, appetite, and spirits.

My grandmother immediately resolved to take her to France, and still anxious to conceal the real motive of her journey from her daughter, she declared her purpose to be to go to Liege and bring home her daughter Julia, who was still a pensioner in the English convent at that place. Rose continued in apparent health and good spirits up to the hour of their departure. The party with her were my grandmother, my father and one maid servant. Perhaps the journey might have brought the symptoms of the disease more forward, for on her arrival in London, Rose became dispirited and languid. She attributed it to fatigue, and to a cold taken at sea: the best advice was procured, and the same opinions given. They set off for Calais, and thence proceeded to the English convent at Liege, where poor Rose arrived lamentably changed. Having been educated in that house, she was received with the warmest affection by the whole community. After she had quitted Liege in the spring of 1784, she had been placed for a year and a half at the Royal Abbaye de Forêt, near Brussels, as a proper place to give her the polish and manners of good society. None but persons of noble families could be admitted as members in that community; and the pensionnaires, fifteen or twenty in number, were presumed to be gentlewomen, and were admitted by patent from the government at Brussels: it was therefore a matter of pride to the family to have Rose admitted as a pensionnaire. The Abbess had her coach and six, with royal liveries, and seldom drove out without being accompanied

by a sister, and one or two pensionnaires. The families of distinction at Brussels always made it a point to invite some of the pensionnaires to their balls and fêtes, where they went attended by a lay sister, who in fact was a gentlewoman. There were three of these lay sisters, whose sole duty was to attend to the dress, manners, accomplishments, &c. of the pensionnaires, and to accompany them wherever they went. A Maltese cross, embroidered in silver thread, about an inch and a half in diameter, was worn by the pensionnaires on the left breast. Rose's cross and her patent for admission were carefully preserved, and fell into Messrs. Weir and Prendergast's hands, with the rest of my grandmother's effects after her death.

My father found Sir Robert Gerard still loitering at Liége; he had formed an attachment for his cousin, Miss Ann Clifford, niece to Lord Clifford, who was a pensionnaire in the English convent. She was to quit it in the following autumn, and it was arranged by both their families that they should be married on Sir Robert Gerard's coming of age. My grandmother fancied her daughter's health improved at Liége; she therefore determined to remain there for some time, the more especially as travelling in France began to be difficult, particularly for females.

The revolution had at that time proceeded to great lengths, and attracted the attention of all Europe. Sir Robert Gerard and my father, having much idle time on their hands, resolved to run up to Paris to see the men who were thus disturbing the peace and order

of society. They found that city in a state of universal alarm, in consequence of the flight of the royal family; but scarcely had they heard this news, when they also heard that the king and queen and their party, had been stopped at Varennes, and were returning as prisoners to Paris.

On the 25th of June they saw that devoted family suffering every insult, short of personal violence, which the most ferocious rabble could inflict: led prisoners into the capital, surrounded by the atrocious ruffians who constituted the mob of Paris, and who, taking the lead in every atrocity, arrogated to themselves the name of the French people. The morning after the return of the royal family, Sir Robert Gerard and my father went to pay their respects to the British ambassador, who advised them to lose no time in quitting France: they therefore returned without delay to Liege, and had they not been provided with the most efficient papers, they never could have passed the frontiers. They were stopped eight or ten times, and most rigidly examined, before they reached Dinant.

My aunt's health began again to decline, but to travel through France was now impossible; my grandmother therefore determined to remain at Liege or in that neighbourhood, but that my father should return home. A few days before my father's departure Sir Robert Gerard gave a breakfast, at a place called Chaufontaine, near Liege. After dancing until he became much heated, he sat down on the grass, and got cold. This slight complaint was so ignorantly

treated by the physicians of the place, that it turned to a malignant fever, and he died on the fourth day. In him my father has often said he lost the only true and disinterested friend he ever possessed. Miss Clifford took to her bed: it was long before she recovered, and when she did she assumed the veil, and devoted the remainder of her days to the cloister. I saw her in 1817, at the convent at New Hall in Essex, of which, I have heard, she is now, or lately was, the Abbess.

About a month after my father's departure, Rose began to get visibly worse, and my grandmother, having no confidence in the physicians of that country, returned to London, where she remained about six weeks. Hope was now nearly gone; still some idea remained that her native air might be of use: my grandmother and her charge made an effort to reach Dublin, which they accomplished in the month of December. My father had a comfortable house prepared for their reception at Leixlip, a pleasant warm situation, about three miles from Dublin, and poor Rose languished about another month, and in January, 1792, she sunk without pain, and almost without perceiving it, into the grave, totally exhausted and worn out. She seemed to die like an expiring flame; placid, good-humoured, and almost cheerful to the last.

My aunt Julia desired to take the veil, at the same time as Miss Clifford: and to this my grandmother consented. Soon after she had taken the veil, the convent was seized by the French, and the nuns fled to England. They purchased the house and demesne of

New Hall in Essex, where they are now established, and where in 1817 I spent a few days with my aunt and Miss Clifford.

My father became of age in March, 1792, and an occurrence then happened which created in the minds of many of his relatives an ill will towards him, which showed itself on every occasion of their subsequent intercourse, and particularly influenced Mr. O'Connor's conduct on the trials in 1798.

Mr. Valentine O'Connor was married to Miss Moore, my grandfather's niece. He was the son of Hugh O'Connor, a merchant, whose principal establishment was in the Isle of Man; he had also an establishment as a general merchant in Dublin, where he died, leaving one daughter married to a Mr. Sherlock, and three sons, Valentine, Malachy, and Hugh. The youngest son, Hugh, married, and established himself in London as a merchant, where after several years he failed. Valentine remained in his father's establishment, on the Bachelor's Quay in Dublin: Malachy also remained as a junior partner. On Hugh's failure in London, the Dublin brothers, in order to assist him, took on themselves the care, education, and provision of two of his children; a boy named Hugh, and a girl named Honoria. This Hugh afterwards married a Miss Hinchy, the only child of a rich Dublin Whiskey Distiller, and on the death of his two uncles became head of the firm of O'Connor and Moore, into which Mr. Valentine O'Connor had associated another Nephew named Moore, my father's cousin. The daughter,

Honoria, was five or six years older than her brother, and about five years older than my father.

When my father became of age, Mr. Valentine O'Connor, desirous of settling his niece, sent a proposal to my grandmother for him, offering to settle five thousand pounds on the marriage, and to take my father into his house for two years, when if all matters went on to his satisfaction, further arrangements should be made for associating him in the firm. This proposal was certainly most liberal on his part. My grandmother's reply was most extraordinary: she was always fiery and passionate—in this instance she surpassed herself. "No," she said, "her son should never marry a charity girl, the daughter of a bankrupt, and the grand-daughter of a smuggler." The reply was faithfully reported to Mr. Valentine O'Connor, and never was, never could be forgiven. The lady and my father were, I believe, equally ignorant of the whole affair, at least my father did not hear of it until long after, when he was told of it by Mrs. Molloy. No other notice was taken of it at the time than a decided coldness from all that connexion, including the Moores, Grehans, and O'Connors.

Mr. Valentine O'Connor's sister, Mrs. Sherlock, a worthy sensible woman, showed my father much kindness afterwards on his marriage; but Mr. Valentine O'Connor never forgave the offence he had received; and six years afterwards he endeavoured to avenge it on the occasion of Oliver Bond's trial.

My father continued to lead an agreeable and idle

life, occupied almost wholly with amusements in town, or visits to his friends and relatives in the country, until the beginning of the year 1794, when he became acquainted with Miss Harriet Witherington. A mutual affection soon took place between them; and with the full consent and approbation of all the families on both sides, they were married on the 25th of March following. This lady was the fourth child of William Witherington, an English naval officer, and Catherine Fanning, daughter of the Rev. Edward Fanning, who was grandson of Mr. Cary of Dungevin Castle, near Derry, from whom descend Lady Dunkin, wife of Sir William Dunkin, formerly a judge in India; Lady Stewart, wife of General Sir James Stewart of Coltness in Scotland; the Honourable Mrs. Stopford, wife of the brother of the late Earl of Courtown, and many other highly respectable families. Mr. and Mrs. Witherington had, besides my mother, two sons, Edward and Henry, and three daughters, Joanna, Matilda, and Catherine. Edward entered the army, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel; Henry also embraced a military life, and died of the Walcheren fever; Joanna died unmarried; Matilda married Theobald Wolfe Tone; and Catherine married Mr. John Heavyside. As all these, my uncles and aunts, will occupy prominent places in the course of this narrative, I shall defer any further mention of them for the present.

On my father's marriage, his mother assigned to him one-half of all the capital in trade, and one-third of the

profits of the business, according to the power vested in her to that effect by her articles of partnership with Warren. She also assigned to him one-half of the beneficial lease of an estate at Corbetstown, which, though not yet productive, was estimated at 12,000*l.*, so that his share was considered as worth 6000*l.* He received 1500*l.* with my mother. His Tontine property, which he sold shortly afterwards, yielded him 2100*l.* He had a balance due to him for rents, interests, and other matters, from the firm of Reynolds and Warren, of 1760*l.*; and his Dublin houses and the Rathfarnham property were worth about 8000*l.*, the whole making a property of 20,000*l.*, exclusive of his half of the capital of the business, and his share of the profits. He had further, the life-interest in the Jamaica property left by Mr. John Meade, whatever it might eventually turn out, and the promise of the beneficial lease of Kilkea Castle and lands from the Duke of Leinster. This castle was the ancient residence of the barons and earls of Kildare previous to their removal to Cartown. It had been let on lease, with about 350 acres of land, to a family named Dixon, for three lives, one only of which now existed, an old bed-ridden man, whose death was daily expected. William Duke of Leinster owed a considerable sum of money to my great-grandfather, Fitzgerald, and on his application, his Grace promised my father the reversion of Kilkea for three lives, renewable for ever, at an easy rent. It was the finest land in the whole county, and delightfully situated, having the river Greece bounding

it on one side, a fine turnpike road on the other, and the park-like demesne of Belem, the seat of the Earl of Aldborough, adjoining. The avenue up to Belem Castle belonged to Kilkea, and was rented at a yearly take from the holder of Kilkea. There was also a strip of land, of seventy acres, running along the far-side of the turnpike road, which served for cottage lands, and other such matters, so that all within the demesne of Kilkea remained undisturbed.

This residence would be still more desirable for my father, as it lay in the very centre of various estates belonging to his family; his grandfather at Kilmead, his uncle at Geraldine, his cousins, Thomas Dunn at Leinster Lodge, and Patrick Dunn on a newly-purchased estate adjoining Leinster Lodge, his uncle, Walter Fitzgerald at Gurteen, were all around, and within three or four miles of Kilkea. Such were the properties he had in reversion, and in possession, on the day of his marriage.

How all these brilliant prospects were effaced, now remains to be told; and as the person whose name I have so frequently cited, Thomas Warren, was a very principal cause of their failure, and as his family have since put themselves forward as the declared enemies of mine, I shall here give a full and true, and I hope a candid, account of that family, down to the beginning of the troubles in Ireland.

Mr. Warren of Killeen, in the Queen's County, having, as I already stated, married a sister of my grandmother's father, died in such poor circumstances,

that my grandmother prevailed on my grandfather to take charge of the youngest son, Thomas, then a youth. He was accordingly removed to Dublin, and from that time his expenses, education, provision in life, and everything relative to him, became my grandfather's care. As soon as he was fit to be placed out, he was put as apprentice to Mr. Edward Grogan, a silk-mercer in Dublin, who was father of the wife of Sir Jonah Barrington, and brother-in-law of Mr. Lundyfoot, the celebrated snuff-manufacturer. Warren having served out his five years, and Mr. Grogan not employing regular clerks, or persons receiving wages, he was removed, and entered as clerk into the service of Mr. John Keogh, another silk-mercer, the same who figured as an opposition leader in the Catholic Committee.

As the relative and protégé of my grandfather, Mr. Warren was kindly received by Mr. Keogh, and treated with great confidence; and there it was that he laid the foundation of that mania for dabbling in politics which marked and marred his subsequent life. He remained three years with Mr. Keogh. My grandfather was the mildest and most moderate man in existence, and he saw with regret the bent Warren's mind was taking: he therefore took him to his own house, and, having soon after occasion to freight a vessel for the United States, he placed him on board as supercargo, giving him full powers to dispose of the cargo and purchase a return-freight to suit the Irish market. Warren sold the cargo well and honestly, but he laid in a very unprofitable return-freight, for a sum of 8000*l.*, the whole in

flax-seed and apples. The flax-seed sold without loss, but the whole of the apples were rotten. My grandfather lost above 1000*l.* by a speculation which ought to have gained him 2000*l.* Warren also brought home good bills on London for 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* value. He had goods to the value of about 1000*l.* on board for his own account, such as boots, shoes, clothing, and cutlery, which he had obtained on credit, with my grandfather's guarantee to be paid for on his return. On the whole, he acted with integrity, but with so little judgment, or common sense, that no more such matters could be intrusted to him. My grandfather therefore took him into his own office, and, finding him obedient and capable of drudging through affairs under superior control, he shortly advanced him to be his confidential clerk, with diet, lodging, and a salary of 120*l.* a-year. He was attended by my grandfather's servants, and treated in every respect like a son : his brother gave him a saddle-horse, which was kept and groomed free of expense in my grandfather's stables. He hunted occasionally, rode out every Sunday, sat after dinner to take his wine with my grandfather's visiters, and joined my grandmother's tea-parties in the evening. Such was Warren's manner of life for many years, until his marriage.

There lived in the city of Kilkenny two old maiden ladies, named Archdekin, who kept a kind of inland slop-shop—that is to say, they sold every possible article for the dress, toilet, &c., of men and women ;—millinery, mercery, haberdashery, woollen-drapery,

hosiery, linen-drapery, ready-made shoes for men and women, hats of every description, furs, rugs, carpets, blankets; in short, they kept a universal magazine.

Of the two old ladies, the youngest was at this time about seventy years of age, and, having been always laborious, careful, and industrious, they were reputed to be wealthy. They had of late years taken two orphan nieces to aid them in their business, with the avowed intention of making them their heirs and successors. One or other of the old ladies came every year to Dublin to make the purchases necessary for their trade, accompanied by one or other of her nieces, who were thus introduced into all the mysteries of the market. These nieces, whose names were also Archdekin, had a brother named James, who, in his youth, had been sent to India, and, having fortunately gained the good-will of Mr. Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, obtained a grant for a term of years of a portion of the salt-contract, by which he realized, as I have heard, about 50,000*l.* He transmitted 1500*l.* to each of his sisters, or to trustees, to be given to them as marriage portions. He must then have been about fifty years of age, the elder sister about forty, and Nancy, the younger, about thirty-five.

The silks for the old ladies' shop could only be had at my grandfather's warehouse, so that they never failed to pay his house a visit, and were highly flattered at being invited once to dinner during their stay. One of their periodical visits took place soon after the arrival

of the 1500*l.* : the oldest aunt (Mrs. Mary Archdekin) was accompanied by Nancy, the youngest niece. They were, as usual, invited to dinner: the bounty of the brother, his fortune, age, health, and so forth, formed a principal topic of conversation.

My grandmother, who was particularly interested in Warren's settlement, calculated, fairly enough, that this young lady might expect eventually the inheritance of her brother, as well as those of her two aunts, and perhaps of her sister also, who, not only from age, but also from disposition, was little likely to marry. She therefore resolved to obtain Miss Nancy's hand for Warren, and, during the week or ten days that the ladies remained, all the preliminaries were adjusted. Warren accompanied them back to Kilkenny, where the wedding took place, and on his return the residence of my great-grandfather in Ashe Street was ready for his reception. The house consisted of a kitchen with vaults and cellars, a dining-parlour, two drawing-rooms, three best bed-rooms, two attics, &c., all completely furnished—all of which he enjoyed free of rent and taxes, until his final departure from Dublin, seven or eight years afterwards.

Some time previous to this, my grandfather had an offer from Colonel Talbot, at Malahyde on the sea-coast, about seven miles from Dublin, of a lease of a cotton-mill on the Colonel's estate; he now accepted the lease, and purchased all the machinery; and, as the mills had only been adapted for spinning cotton, he added 20 or 30 looms, with all their tackle, for the

weaving of corduroys, thicksets, calicoes, and such matters; for which plenty of hands were to be had among the unemployed silk-weavers, and *he gave the whole as a marriage gift to Warren*. The premises consisted not only of an extensive building and appurtenances used in the manufacture, but also of a very excellent detached dwelling-house, offices, garden, and three acres of grass-land. A person named James Gaynor was hired from England to superintend the works, which, in a short time, produced the finest muslins, and employed several hundred persons, one-third of whom were children from eight to fifteen or sixteen years of age, principally females. A house in Park Street, which adjoined my grandfather's dwelling, and from which there was a free communication with Warren's dwelling in Ashe Street, was given rent-free, to serve as a warehouse to receive the goods manufactured at Malahyde until Warren could dispose of them. Meantime, Warren continued to occupy his old place in my grandfather's service, his salary being increased to 200*l.* a-year: his duty was merely to attend to the book-keeping and bill department, in which he had an assistant under him, named Peter Sullivan, so that he had abundant leisure to attend to his cotton affairs, without neglecting his duty to my grandfather. Thus matters went on until my grandfather's death in 1788. Warren had at that time one child, a daughter, whose name, I think, was Mary.

The vast amount of the failures which had occurred among the Irish silk-mercers, during the last years of

my grandfather's life, had greatly increased the pressure of business on his house. The large claims possessed by my grandfather on these bankrupts' estates, and the high estimation in which he was held, had generally caused him to be appointed an assignee of the effects. Few, perhaps not one, had been finally closed when he died; and the various matters arising out of their several estates had occasioned much additional labour, which, having come gradually on my grandfather, was transacted without difficulty, but which falling at his decease suddenly upon my grandmother, who was quite ignorant of every description of business, it was utterly impossible for her to accomplish. Mr. Warren was well aware of this, and took advantage of it. He told my grandmother it was impossible for him to attend to her affairs, and to his own at Malahyde, so that one or the other must of necessity be relinquished.

Such a declaration, at such moment, was a command; there was no alternative. She therefore associated him with herself for a term of years. She engaged to find all the capital, which, including the value of stock, machinery, &c., was to be made up to the clear sum of 20,000*l.* 200*l.* a-year rent was to be paid to my father by the partnership for the use of the premises, including Mr. Warren's dwelling-house, the dwelling-house of my grandfather, and the extensive concerns occupied by dye-houses, yards, stores, dry-lofts, stabling, &c., which, as I have already stated, were his private property. Mr. Warren was to have one-third

of the net profits, my grandmother two-thirds ; she retained a power to assign the whole or any part of her interest to any one of her children, at her discretion, her capital always remaining unremoved during the continuance of the partnership.

Mr. Warren thereupon sold off everything at Malahyde. His situation was at that time highly advantageous ; he lived rent-free, and had one-third of the profits of a business which had never produced so little net as 2500*l.* in one year. His wife's fortune, and the produce of the sale of Malahyde, which, taken both together, could not be much under, if they did not exceed, 4000*l.*, were unemployed at his disposal, and his expectations from his wife's family were daily improving. His brother-in-law came to Ireland about this period, and resided during his stay at the house Mr. Warren occupied in Ashe Street.

Although my grandfather's affairs were conducted by Mr. Warren, they were always transacted in my grandmother's name, and they were kept carefully distinct from the affairs of the partnership ; the period allowed by law to executors to make up the accounts very materially facilitated their settlement.

Mr. Warren was now the managing partner of the house ; but he took no part in the manufacturing department, which was entirely conducted by one John Short, with able foremen. The books also were kept by Mr. Peter Sullivan ; but Mr. Warren reserved to himself the bill and cash department ; he also received all moneys and remittances, and provided funds to meet

all engagements and outgoings. My grandmother saw the general balance-sheet once a-year, and, as that exhibited an average annual balance of 3000*l.* to 4000*l.* in favour of the house, she was contented.

Had Mr. Warren attended to these light but important duties, it had been well for him and for those to whom he was so deeply indebted; but, vain of his situation, and of the ease he enjoyed in money matters, instead of applying himself to business, he launched into the party politics of the day. He got himself elected delegate to the Catholic Committee from Carlow, and became a member and a liberal subscriber to all Jacobin societies, at that time much multiplied by the French revolution, which was just then breaking out, and which was the constant theme of praise to a great party in Ireland. He gave frequent dinners to the leaders of faction; Napper Tandy, John Keogh, Hamilton Rowan, Thomas Braughall, Oliver Bond, were his constant guests: what with public meetings, and private meetings, dinners at home, and dinners abroad, scarce an hour could be afforded to the concerns of the house. The natural consequence of this habitual neglect of the business of the firm for that of the state, which continued for some years, at last became apparent in the increasing difficulties and embarrassments of the house.

John Short and Walter Macdaniel, two old clerks of the firm, spoke seriously to my father on the subject, and, on looking into the cash-book with Macdaniel's assistance, there appeared an enormous deficiency, exceeding 60,000*l.* My father spoke of it to his mother,

and she spoke to Mr. Warren. He said he was then too hurried, but would soon settle it. My father at length became so urgent that Mr. Warren bade him mind his own business. My father reported this to his mother, and then it was that she resolved to avail herself of the power she had reserved, and make him a partner in the concern, which would give him the authority he wanted. Mr. Warren demurred, and threw in the way every impediment and delay in his power, and succeeded in postponing the settlement for some months; but my father's approaching marriage made further delay impossible, and the deeds were completed. My grandmother, who never thought of concealing her sentiments, exclaimed, as soon as the deeds were signed, addressing herself to my father, "Now, Sir, you have the authority, and I trust you will *mind your own business*." This occurred in January, 1794. My father lost not an hour in making out the cash and bill accounts, such as they appeared on the books, and laying them before his mother in Mr. Warren's presence: the deficiency was even greater than it had formerly seemed. Mr. Warren required a month to make up his accounts, to which my father willingly acceded, on his solemn assurance that a balance should then be struck, and all deficiency, if any should appear unaccounted for, up to the day of my father's becoming a partner, when new books had been opened, should be made good to my grandmother. This matter, solely affecting accounts to be settled between Mr. Warren and my grandmother, could not be

supposed to prevent my father's pursuits: his marriage was celebrated before the promised period of a month had expired. As soon after as possible, that is, in the first week in April, he demanded the fulfilment of the promise. Mr. Warren's reply was as follows:—

"It is useless to attempt to account for past affairs when we cannot go on with the present. I can only say that all the money I ever received, all the bills and securities I ever got, all my own and my wife's money, have been paid away in making good the engagements of the house. I have gone on until I have neither cash, credit, nor security left, but in doing so I have wound up the business to a nutshell. The unsettled debts due to the house are under 3000*l.*; the bills and outstanding engagements are under 4000*l.*—making in the whole something less than 7000*l.* The debts due to the house in Dublin are in fact nothing, or very trifling, as I have taken bills from the mercers for the March accounts, and have negociated them to pay the demands up to this day. As to the capital of the house, about half of it is sunk and lost in the effort I have made to support matters until now: about 5000*l.* of the remainder is sunk in machinery; of the remainder, about one half exists on the books as debts, some good, some bad, some doubtful; the other half remains in goods manufactured and unmade in the house, and in deliveries to the Dublin mercers since the 1st of April. Of the bills outstanding, two English drafts fall due on the 10th of this month, the remainder fall due at different epochs during the subsequent six or eight

weeks. I have not a penny to enable me to meet them, nor a hope of procuring it; and the result is, if you cannot find money to pay the bills falling due, and to supply the workpeople about 100*l.* a-week, we must shut up; if you can, you may still preserve the establishment, and probably without eventual loss to yourself, as I am certain there is sufficient in the remainder of the capital to repay you: but your mother must be satisfied to sacrifice all her capital, as I have lost all mine."

Such was the substance of this eventful communication. My father was then a partner; his property was all involved. No alternative presented itself between absolute ruin and a compliance with Mr. Warren's suggestions. He immediately made up his mind, for to consult his friends would have been to blazon to the world the situation of the house, and thus, by destroying its credit, render its ruin inevitable. He sent for his solicitor, Mr. William Furlong, who drew up a memorandum of agreement, which was afterwards formally perfected, whereby he engaged to find the moneys necessary for present purposes, and Mr. Warren and my grandmother were both to retire and surrender the whole concern to him. A list of the debts and engagements of the house was made out, amounting to nearly 9000*l.*, which he engaged to discharge; and, in order to enable him to do so, the machinery of the concern was assigned to him for 3000*l.*, the stock for 4000*l.*; and as much of the best and least doubtful of the debts due to

the house as made up the balance. My grandmother carried away with her all her securities which she held independent of, and unconnected with, the partnership; and of course retained to herself alone the claim on Mr. Warren for the settlement of the cash-account, which he signed a promise to settle without delay. My grandfather had had a country-house at the Black Rock; and my great grandfather had had one at Rathfarnham. Those houses were furnished as well as their town-houses, and, when sold, the furniture was removed to town, and such parts of it as were not put to use remained piled in the attics. My grandmother took what she thought fit to furnish a suite of rooms to which she retired on my father's marriage—the remainder was left with him, and enabled him to complete the furnishing of Kilkea; but with this Mr. Warren had no concern—it was a transaction solely between my father and my grandmother.

My grandmother continued to urge a settlement of the cash account, but all in vain. During the time that Mr. Warren conducted her affairs she had occasion to go to the Continent with my aunt, as I have already mentioned, and before her departure she gave him a very full power of attorney to act for her in Ireland. During her absence, a judgment for a considerable sum due to the estate of my grandfather was obtained against a gentleman of landed estate, named Hamilton, who offered to pay some part in cash, and to give a bond and judgment for the remainder; the offer was accepted, and the bond was perfected to Thomas Warren,

and had so remained until the period I now speak of, when my grandmother found a mode of using it for her advantage. She therefore applied to Mr. Warren for the purpose of having the trust declared. This he refused to do unless she would give him a release from all claim on the cash-account. This infamous transaction would easily have been exposed and punished, but the sum was 800*l.* and upwards. My grandmother wanted the money; delay might prevent her from ever getting it, or at least for a long time; her hopes from a settlement of the cash balance to be made with a man who professed to have no property were very slight, and she complied with the nefarious demand: she signed the release, the trust was declared, and she recovered Hamilton's debt. The corroboration of this fact will be found in the trial of John MacCan, where Mr. Warren appeared as an evidence to attempt to discredit my father. On the dissolution of the partnership, Mr. Warren sought to establish himself as an attorney, but could not succeed, and, being totally unoccupied during the following three or four years, he plunged entirely into the vortex of Jacobinism, which at that period attained its acmé in Ireland, and in 1798 came forward as a witness in support of his party, with a detail of all the family anecdotes, little quarrels, and youthful follies, which had come to his knowledge under the roof of his friend and benefactor. But the account which was wrung from him in court, in his cross-examination, showed him in his true colours; even his old associates threw

him aside, and abandoned him. The trial of MacCan was the first that came on, and he never was brought forward on any subsequent occasion. He again retired to the country, where he dragged on a disgraceful existence, deserted and despised by all parties, until the return of the Bourbons permitted the entrance of British subjects into France. He then repaired to Paris with a part of his family, and presented himself to the Duc de Feltre, as one related to that Marshal's family in Ireland. The duke received him kindly, and placed one of his sons in the French army. Mr. Warren soon after died of apoplexy, and was interred at the duke's expense. His wife had died long previously: they left a numerous family of sons and daughters, who also went over to settle in Paris.

I have heard that the Misses Archdekin of Kilkenny, and the brother of Mrs. Warren, being all dead, a considerable fortune descended to one of Mr. Warren's sons, and trifling legacies to each of the other children; but of that I know nothing certain. I shall have to speak of Mr. Warren, and part of his family, more than once in the course of these memoirs.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Reynolds's Property after settling the Affairs of the Firm—He prepares to quit Business—Purchases a Lease for three lives, renewable for ever, of the Castle and Lands of Kilkea—State of his Affairs on entering into Possession—Mr. W. C. Taylor's calumnious Accusation—Mr. Reynolds's Mother dies—Her Will—History of Peter Sullivan — his Ingratitude — Account of Elizabeth Cahill — Mrs. Molloy and Miss Anne Fitzgerald—Account of Lieutenant Colonel Witherington—His Conduct and Character—Causes of his hatred of Mr. Reynolds—His Behaviour at Kilkea.

1794 to 1797.

The whole affairs of the house were now surrendered into my father's hands, encumbered with debts to the amount of 9000*l.*, viz., to Cope and Co. 5000*l.*, to Jaffray and Co. 2000*l.*, to himself 1000*l.*, and in various acceptances 1000*l.* The provision he had to pay this was, machinery, valued at 3000*l.*; stock, in raw and manufactured goods, 4000*l.*; and debts due to the house, all slow in collecting, 2000*l.* The difficulty was how to bring this dull property into play, so as to pay the demands upon it, and to procure cash to pay the heavy weekly expenses, wages, bills falling due, &c. &c. He first sold off his tontine, which yielded 2100*l.* net; he had 1500*l.*, which he had received as my mother's fortune; and he sold two houses in Park

Street for 2300*l.* All this produced about 6000*l.* in actual cash. He advanced 1000*l.* of this money to Mr. Cope, on condition of his accepting a lien on Giffard's property for all his demand. He prevailed on Jaffray and Co. to accept of a similar lien on the same property for their demand, so that he had to pay no more than about 1000*l.* of engagements for the house, which would still leave about 4000*l.* in cash. Thus his property stood :

In actual cash at his banker's . .	£ 4,000
Stock, in raw and manufactured goods .	4,000
Debts due to him	2,000
Machinery, valued at	3,000
The dwelling-houses and extensive concerns in Park Street, Ashe Street, and Corman Hall	4,000
His property at Rathfarnham . .	1,500
Total .	£ 18,500;

all of which could be realized within a year if necessary : he did not owe a shilling, and he had further a mortgage for 3000*l.* on Sir Duke Giffard's property, which took precedence of Messrs. Cope and Jaffray. Subsequent events prevented him from attending properly to this mortgage, and he only recovered about 1700*l.* from his demand on it. He had also expectations from his claims on the late Mr. John Meade's estate in Jamaica, of which he was tenant for life, subject to the payment of Mr. Meade's debts, which were considerable ; and he had furniture sufficient for

three large houses, with abundance of plate, linen, &c. &c.

On the death of old Sir Duke Giffard in 1797, the securities held by my father, Mr. Cope, and Mr. Jaffray, upon his property became available; and a question then arose whether the 1000*l.* paid by my father to Mr. Cope ought (as my father alleged) to be deducted from Mr. Cope's claim, or ought on the other hand (as Mr. Cope maintained) to be regarded as a bonus to him for having accepted the security. Sir William Gladdowe Newcomen, and others, were consulted by Mr. Cope, at the desire of my father, who was then in the country. They said that my father was right in strict law, but that in equity he was wrong. Old Mr. Alexander Jaffray, the same with whom he had travelled from Liege, wrote to him in the country, acquainting him with this opinion, and saying that it was also his own, and Sir William Gladdowe Newcomen's opinion, that he ought to consider this payment as a bonus to Mr. Cope. He received this letter at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, and he was at Mr. Cope's house in Merrion Square at dinner on the same day, and submitted without hesitation to their decision. This was the affair adduced by Valentine O'Connor as the ground of his want of confidence in my father's oath given on the trials in 1798. On the other hand, my father's conduct in this matter gained him the warm friendship of Sir William Gladdowe Newcomen, which

lasted undiminished until his death, upwards of twenty years afterwards.

My grandmother had taken away with her, properties and effects to the value of about 5000*l.*, consisting principally of securities, which had belonged to my grandfather, and which, although ultimately valuable, were then unproductive. My father therefore made her an allowance of 200*l.* a-year.

Having a promise of the lease of Kilkea from the Duke of Leinster, on the death of Mr. Dixon, the occupant, my father had been preparing gradually for retiring from business from the day of his being left alone in the concern. Mr. Dixon died in the beginning of the year 1797. My father directly repaired to Rathangan, the residence of Mr. Spencer, the duke's agent, when he put in his claim.

The barony of Kilkea and Moone consisted of 1500 Irish acres, of the first land in the country, exclusive of the gardens, orchards, and land occupied by the castle and its appurtenances. That part called Moone was held on lease by a family of the name of Yates, and contained about 850 acres, including the old deer-park, adjoining to which was the ancient habitation of the Earl's huntsman, the kennel, and other sporting establishments. These buildings formed the residence of Mr. Yates' family. 250 acres, or thereabouts, were let, with suitable farm-houses, to a Mr. Kinsela, and to one Macdermod; the remaining 350 acres were attached to the castle, and let with it.

In order to show the value of the property, I subjoin in a note an advertisement* taken from a morning paper, for the sale of the part called Moone, the lands of which lie higher than those of Kilkea, and make better sheep or deer walks, but are not nearly so good for any other purpose. If the lands of Moone were let, as this advertisement states, for 1098*l.* 1*s.*, that is to say, at 1*l.* 6*s.* per acre, those of Kilkea could not be worth less, which would make them worth 455*l.* a-year, exclusive of the castle, orchard, gardens, and lawn, which covered in the whole about ten Irish acres; and my father's reserved rent amounted to no more than 48*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a-year!

Moone estate was leasehold for 999 years, which gave no freehold. Kilkea was leased for three lives renewable for ever, which constituted a freehold in Ireland. My father's agreement was to pay 1000*l.* as a fine to the duke, and to pay Mr. Shannon, the duke's builder, for new roofing, flooring, and ceiling the castle, and for making such other improvements as

* Capital freehold and leasehold estates, in the county of Kildare and city of Dublin, late the property of Benedict A. Yates, Esq., deceased. —For sale by auction, in the month of June next, in lots, in the city of Dublin. The capital estate, town, and lands of Moone, commonly called the Manor of Moone, in the barony of Moone and Kilkea, containing 847 acres, or thereabouts, comprising a large extent of well-cultivated land, and an excellent demesne and deer-park of about 140 acres. This estate is leasehold for the term of 999 years from May, 1746, and is subject to an annual head-rent of 303*l.* 10*s.* The whole of the estate is let to most respectable tenants, at moderate rents, amounting to 1098*l.* 1*s.* per annum, and several of the leases will expire in a few years.

would put it into substantial repair; upon this outlay and upon the fine he was to be allowed 10 per cent. out of the rent, which was fixed at a guinea (1*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* Irish) per acre, and on 350 acres amounted to £398 2 6

Mr. Shannon's bill amounted to 2500*l.*, and some odd pounds; 10 per cent. on it, and on the 1000*l.* fine, amounted to 350 0 0

Net rent remaining . . £48 2 6

Several ornamental repairs and decorations were made, which could not be charged to the duke, but fell of course to the occupier, amounting perhaps in the whole to 300*l.* The manor-mill, with two or three acres of mill-pond, adjoined this property, and was then held by one Green, a miller, on a lease of seven years. This was to be delivered up to my father at the end of the lease, at the rent Green paid, if he chose to accept it; and he was to be allowed to fine down the remainder of the rent at 10 per cent., at any period during the first seven years at his own convenience, which, including the mill-rent, might eventually have cost 1000*l.* more. He had an unlimited right of cutting turf in the great bog of Monavooliagh, which lay at the distance of about two miles from Kilkea.

On paying the fine to the duke, who gave my father a receipt, explaining the agreement, he was put into possession of the castle and lands by his

grace's head bailiff, with all the customary form; but the completing of the lease was deferred until the exact amount of the repairs was ascertained. The troubles which preceded the rebellion then came on, and finally the rebellion itself, which occasioned the desolation of this fine castle, as I shall relate in another place.

My father had wound up all his affairs in Dublin previously to the month of December, 1797; and, the repairs of Kilkea being completed, he removed all his furniture by the canal which goes from Dublin to Athy, and, having completely furnished the castle and stocked the lands, at an expense of several thousand pounds, he removed his family into it in December, and had several Dublin friends to pass Christmas there with him. My mother expected to be confined in April, for which event she was to return to Dublin, and until her departure they had a constant succession of entertainments, welcoming their arrival as residents in the country.

My father's property, on entering into possession of Kilkea Castle, was, in addition to the estate as above described, 4000*l*, in houses in Park-street, Ashe-street, and Corman Hall; his property at Rathfarnham; and 6000*l*., partly in cash at his banker's, and partly in debts, which were all good, besides the mortgage for 3000*l*. on Sir Duke Giffard's property, and his life-interest in Fort Stewart estate in Jamaica, left him by Mr. J. Meade. His style of living was such as became a gentleman of what, in those days, was an ample for-

tune, and of the first connexions in the country. He had always an establishment of seven servants, his carriage, and five horses in his stables; he entertained on an equal footing all the neighbouring gentry; and though these matters were of public notoriety, and though there are men still living who know them to be true, yet Mr. W. C. Taylor, in his History of the Civil Wars of Ireland, after stating in his preface "the purity of his intentions," and that "truth has been his only object," and that, "amidst the conflicting statements of historians, he had always selected that which was supported by the best authorities, that he had in almost every instance consulted the original records, and made no assertions which they did not fully support"—I say, after this apparent candour and modesty, he has penned one little phrase which contains as many falsehoods as it does periods. He says, "One Reynolds, who had been an active member of the Union, being distressed for want of money, sold the secret to the government, and insured for himself pardon and reward." Perhaps Mr. Taylor could furnish me with the "records" from which he discovered that my father was distressed for money. He may perhaps consider Mr. Moore's Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald as a record, or Mr. Moore himself as a historian. That person makes a similar assertion; but, as I shall notice his work in another place, I shall confine myself for the present to Mr. Taylor. From what "record" did Mr. Taylor discover that my father had been an active member of the Union? and, above all, from what

"record" did he receive the foul slander that he had sold the secret to the government? Could not the same record have supplied him with the price also, and, if so, why did he not name it? From what "records" did he learn that my father had insured to himself by his conduct any, even the slightest, reward? The whole accusation is as false as it is malicious. Had he indeed taken the trouble to consult the "records" of the trials in 1798, or the "records" of both Houses of Parliament, he would have found a very different account of the matter. Mr. Taylor should remember that a phrase of this kind published to the world, by however, obscure an author, inflicts an almost incurable wound; and that the writer incurs a vast moral responsibility who utters it without having ascertained its absolute truth.

On the 6th of November, 1797, my father's mother died at her residence in Abbey-street, Dublin. My father was then entirely occupied in preparing Kilkea Castle, and in removing his effects preparatory to the settlement of his family there. He had not seen her for several days, nor had he heard that she was unwell, when, on the morning of the 6th of November, at six o'clock, he was called from his bed by a message from Mr. Prendergast, who had passed the night with her, to say she was exceedingly ill. He immediately arose, and was at her bed-side before seven, but she was already dead. She had kept her bed for three days, attended by her usual physician, Dr. William James M'Nevin, the same who was one of the five directors of

the United Irish Association, and who died lately at New York. Previous to my father's arrival, Messrs. Prendergast and Weir had possessed themselves of all her papers and effects. She had lost all power of speech and motion about four o'clock; Mr. Prendergast then wrote on a scrap of paper as follows: "I leave all my property, real and personal, to my sons-in-law, Thomas E. Weir and Francis Prendergast; I desire all my just debts to be paid, *particularly Betty Cahill.* I leave five pounds a-year to my daughter Julia for life. Dublin, 6th November, 1797." Mr. Prendergast then took her hand, laid it upon his, read the will aloud to her, declaring she had communicated those her intentions to him during the night, and then, having her hand still resting upon his own, signed the name of "Rose Reynolds." M'Nevin witnessed it, and then they sent off for my father, who considered that he had sufficient reason to be offended by the whole of the proceedings, though he never thought it worth his while to contest the will. This was the transaction I have before alluded to, as having caused a misunderstanding between my father and his brothers-in-law, which was never entirely made up.

Before I enter on the history of my father's political career, I must give an account of two or three persons, whose names will be found ranked among his bitterest foes. The first of these is Peter Sullivan, a man who sacrificed honour, gratitude, truth, and all the best feelings of human nature, to his United Irish connexions.

A very worthy merchant, named Sullivan, failed in Dublin about the year 1773, and soon after died, leaving a widow with two children, a son and a daughter, in the most abject poverty. My grandfather, moved with compassion for their distress, took charge of the son, and my grandmother promoted a weekly card-rout at the mother's, where every person paid two shillings card-money, for which they had tea, lights, fire, and cards. This with an occasional gift of a loaf of sugar, a pound of tea, a ton of coals, a gown from a damaged piece of silk or poplin, a tub of salt butter, and now and then a basket of provisions sent from the market, or a meat-pie from her own kitchen, supported the widow and daughter with considerable comfort. The son was allowed to go to his mother's house on the weekly card-nights to hand round the tea, to call a coach, or do any other little services; and this continued for many years. Meantime young Sullivan, having been sent to school at my grandfather's expense, was taken into the office, and bound apprentice under the foreman, to be brought up either to succeed to the same place, or to become a manufacturer himself. He was well instructed in every branch, as well of the worsted as the silk business, particularly in the dyeing department. He was also taught book-keeping in all its branches: he was always well clothed, had a room for himself in my grandfather's house, ate at his table, and, when his five years of apprenticeship expired, he had 20*l.* the first year, the second year 30*l.*, and ever after 40*l.*, until my grandfather's death, when my grandmother

increased his pay to 60*l.*; and, when my father undertook the affairs, he further increased his salary to 120*l.* a-year. During all these years, Master Peter (as he was called) was received amongst the family as a brother. My father particularly valued him, and placed in him the most unbounded confidence: he considered him as a second self, and made him the confidant of his most secret thoughts. About the year 1795, Sullivan, finding his purse well supplied, and my father's evenings less at his disposal than before his marriage, was naturally drawn into other society, formed a habit of passing his evenings abroad, and, becoming infected with the revolutionary mania of that day, entered into the Society of United Irishmen.

Thus matters went on until after the Christmas of 1796, when the French under General Hoche had retired disappointed from Bantry Bay. A few days after that event, Peter Sullivan took an occasion to speak privately to my father. He told him that the leading Presbyterians and the *then* Catholic Committee had agreed to unite their efforts to obtain universal religious toleration, requiring that the Catholics should add to their other objects Reform in Parliament; that, all conventions being prohibited by government, they had formed themselves into a secret society, called United Irishmen, which already reckoned above 200,000 members; that my father's connexions with Lord Fingall's party had alone prevented him from being long since made acquainted with this fact, but that the interest of the Dublin Catholics, whom he still re-

presented, made it necessary he should know what was going on, and for that reason he (Sullivan) had been ordered to open the matter to him, and to refer him to Mr. Richard Dillon as a Catholic, and to Mr. Oliver Bond as a Presbyterian leader, for fuller information on the subject. My father accordingly accompanied him to the residence of Richard Dillon, who brought him to the house of Oliver Bond; and, through the representations of these men, he was, unfortunately for himself and his own family, but fortunately for his country, inveigled to become a United Irishman.

My father finally removed his family from Dublin to Kilkea Castle in December, 1797, as I before stated, and up to the day of his departure, or rather up to the 1st of January, 1798, Sullivan continued to be his confidential man of business, and regularly received his full salary, although he had lately married, and was forming a settlement for himself in another business.

This man, without ever having had any previous cause of difference with my father, forgetting all his obligations to him and his family, devoted himself entirely to his fanatical association; and, having first detailed everything which he had known, or heard of, or imagined, as having passed in the interior of the family in whose bosom he had been nurtured and cherished during twenty-five years, so that the counsel engaged in the defence of the prisoners might cast a shade of discredit or ridicule upon my father's reputation, by a public exposure of the idle follies of his boyish days, crowned all by appearing on the table in

court, and swearing that Mr. Reynolds was not worthy of credit on his oath, while at the same time his own evidence confirmed all my father had said of the person accused: in fine, such was Sullivan's conduct upon that occasion, that, dreading a prosecution on quitting the court, he fled from Dublin, and from that hour my father never heard more of him.

Two other persons, who distinguished themselves by their conduct towards my father, were Mrs. Molloy, his grand-aunt, and Miss Anne Fitzgerald, his aunt. The pretext they used for endeavouring to injure his character was so wicked and frivolous, that, if the facts had not been proved before a court of justice, and recorded in a work written in a spirit of marked hostility against my father (Howell's "State Trials"), I should hardly have dared to mention them, especially as the two ladies had long devoted themselves to the service of God, and resided in a convent, where for many years they doubtless had been learning lessons of truth and charity, and witnessing the daily exhibition of all the Christian graces. The facts are these:

Elizabeth, or as she was commonly called, Betty Cahill, was a woman of great age, between eighty and ninety. She had been taken in her childhood into the service of my father's great-grandmother Lacy, the wife of his great-grandfather Reynolds, and had ever since continued as a servant in the family. She had been my grandmother's housekeeper for many years; she then removed into my mother's family, where she remained until a short time before my father's removal

from Dublin to Kilkea. Her great age and loss of sight prevented her from continuing in that employment; but it was settled that she should have a room for herself in Kilkea Castle, and her grand-niece to accompany and attend upon her. She had saved a little money, and she proposed making this grand-niece her heir, and had sent into the country for her. Meantime she was placed in lodgings by Mrs. Molloy, who undertook to manage all her property; and, when all was ready, she was to go to Kilkea with my mother in May, 1798: these intentions however were never executed. Poor Mrs. Cahill must have been sadly robbed by those whom Mrs. Molloy placed about her, as the letter, which I here copy, states her to be in want of common necessaries. She had accumulated some property during her long service, and had at various times assisted her family, and given marriage portions to three or four relations. Some years previous to 1798 she had a sum of 175*l.* paid to her by some one to whom she had formerly lent it. This money she placed in the hands of my grandmother, who gave her bond to Mrs. Cahill for 100*l.* of it, and my father joined as a collateral security; and, in consequence of an arrangement of some money-matters with his mother, he also gave Mrs. Cahill his bond for 50*l.*, and his note for the remaining 25*l.* She was then living in my father's house as housekeeper, and she received her interest quarterly in his office. On one of these occasions she brought her bonds into the office as usual, and left them to have her interest settled on the arrival of the clerk. An old bond, which on some former occasion had been

filled up for an erroneous sum, but had not been signed by any party, lay on the clerk's desk, and had for years been used as a precedent in filling up similar securities, which were very frequently passed to the house by country customers in lieu of promissory notes, the constant credit given being from twelve to eighteen months after the account had been furnished, and, whenever the least doubt existed, a bond was taken, and judgment entered on it. On Mrs. Cahill's coming for her money, she received by mistake this draft-bond in lieu of her own. This occurred very shortly before my grandmother's death, and the error was not immediately discovered. It will be recollected that the paper called my grandmother's will ordered all her debts to be paid, *particularly Betty Cahill*, alluding to this bond; and, on Mrs. Cahill's applying to my father, he requested her to call in the first instance on Messrs. Weir and Prendergast, who were my grandmother's executors, as, although they might pay her, they certainly would not reimburse him, should he do so, without a lawsuit; and, after the death of his mother, instead of paying interest on the bond as formerly, he gave Mrs. Cahill money as she required it, leaving the ultimate settlement until she should have arranged one way or other with the executors. These persons however never paid her a shilling: the whole fell upon my father. Mrs. Molloy, as Mrs. Cahill's adviser, finding there was nothing to be got from the executors, wrote to my father, through Peter Sullivan, on the subject. My father was then at Kilkea, and in reply he desired them to settle the matter so as not to inconvenience Mrs. Cahill, but to

allow as much time as might be, to make a further attempt to recover the money from his mother's effects; he also desired that, although he would pay the money, the bonds should not be cancelled, nor anything done to exonerate the assets. Sullivan therefore drew bills on my father, payable at such times as Mrs. Cahill pointed out, and Mrs. Cahill signed them, for the full amount of the bonds, principal and interest, settling every balance between him and Mrs. Cahill. It was when this settlement was making that the error in the bond was first noticed. My father accepted and regularly paid all the bills: they all, except the two last for 10*l.* each, fell due previous to May, 1798. Of these the one was due on the 20th of June, the other on the 1st of July, 1798, on both which days my father was a close prisoner in Dublin Castle: he therefore sent my mother to pay them when due. A few days after my father's arrest my mother received the following letter from Mrs. Cahill. I transcribe it literatim:—

"My dear Madam,—It was with the utmost concern I heard of your and Mr. Reynolds's very afflicting situation. Nothing but absolute distress could in such a time induce me to be so troublesome. Having often experienced your goodness, I must be very ill natured if I did not feel sorry for your trouble; I therefore tried every means before I sent to you, but in vain. I sent to Mr. Prendergast and Mr. *Ware*, but got no satisfaction. On Saturday last I endeavoured to go in person, and the reception I met with (although they *seen* me almost fainting with *fatague*) was such as I hope never

again to experience. Had it been you I'd gone to I'd be sure of very different treatment; and I'm persuaded that, when Mr. *Reanolds* gets his liberty, he'll call them to account. I'm extremely anxious to know how you and the children are, and whether you saved your furniture. You may judge of my distress when I was obliged to take the ring off my finger and dispose of it for a *very great trifle*. I have been keeping my bed ever since I *seen* Mr. *Ware*, so great was the shock I got at his telling me he would not give me a farthing; and I must suffer more than you can imagine unless you have the goodness to send me something either to-day or to-morrow. I conclude, my dear Madam, with sincere regards for you and family, E. C.

"Dr. Mam,—Be kind enough to *seal* whatever you send me."

This letter was proved in court. Immediately on its receipt my mother sent her a guinea; and, having shown my father the letter when she went as usual to dine with him in the Castle, he begged her to send Mrs. Cahill eight guineas more, making in all, 10*l*. 4*s*. 9*d*., and to tell her that that money should go in discharge of the bill to be due on the 20th June for 10*l*. This was exactly performed.

The next and last bill was due on the 1st July. At that period my father's connexion with government, and opposition to the United Irishmen, was fully known. Measures of the most active kind were of course adopted by those persons to decry him, and with that view every Roman Catholic of his family

was applied to, and party spirit being at its height, whoever could contribute even the shadow of a charge, readily came forward: among others, Mrs. Molloy and Miss Fitzgerald, his aunts, who resided in King Street nunnery, were prevailed upon to appear against him, and represent these transactions with Mrs. Cahill as an attempt at fraud. They represented my father as having endeavoured first to cheat Mrs. Cahill, by giving her a false bond, and then almost to starve her, by withholding her money. The last bill fell due, as I have stated, on the 1st July, 1798. On that day my mother went, by my father's directions, to Mrs. Cahill to pay it. When my mother offered the money to Mrs. Cahill, she told her that the bill was in Mrs. Molloy's hands, but she produced and delivered up to her all my father's other securities, unasked, because she said Mrs. Bond, Mrs. Molloy, and an attorney, had been with her, to get them from her, but she said she knew whose they were, and would not trust them out of her hands, as she saw they wanted them for some bad purpose. Upon this my mother went to the nunnery, and asked to see Mrs. Molloy, who refused to admit her, or to send out the bill that she might pay it. My mother then wrote a note, stating why she came, and desiring to pay the bill due that day, adding her address that it might be sent for, as they would not receive it there. She sought in vain for some person to take charge of this note; the whole community kept themselves carefully shut in. At length, the priest, the spiritual director of the establishment, passed

through the hall, and she in some sort forced him to take charge of it. She then left the house.

Perhaps a stronger instance of the extremes to which party spirit, during those civil commotions, carried persons, in other respects of the highest respectability, can scarcely be found, than that exhibited in the evidence of these two Nuns, when, with a full knowledge of all these circumstances, they swore that they would not believe my father upon his oath, because he had attempted to defraud Mrs. Cahill!

The next person of whom I have to speak is Lieutenant-Colonel Witherington, formerly of the 9th Light Dragoons. He was a major in that regiment at the time of the Rebellion, and afterwards obtained the brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. I would willingly have buried in oblivion all matters connected with the name of so near a relation, but the atrocious calumnies to which he not only gave currency himself, but suborned his younger brother, a boy in years, and a mere child in discretion, to depose upon oath, compel me to lay bare the secret causes of that deadly animosity which he exhibited against my father, and to expose the baseness and depravity of the man, who, after bringing such charges, and attesting his belief in them by the solemnity of an oath, could, for nearly 30 years, indeed until his death, partake of the hospitality, live at the board, and sleep under the roof of one whom he had so foully slandered, if I would not betray the sacred trust bequeathed to me by my dying father—the vindication of his character. My father, in his hearty forgiveness

of his slanderer, manifested his anxiety to follow Him "who, when He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, threatened not; but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously:"—but while I rejoice that my father was enabled to exhibit to the world so bright an example of Christian forbearance; I may, I hope, be permitted to feel that such conduct was not without its reward even here; that nothing could so completely refute the slanderous malice of that man—nothing could so completely prove his own disbelief of the calumnies to which he gave utterance, as his suit for pardon, and his acceptance of the hospitality and favours of his injured brother-in-law.

Actuated by these feelings, I unwillingly proceed to detail the circumstances which first excited, and finally roused into activity those sentiments of mortal aversion towards my father which slumbered in the breast of Lieutenant-Colonel Witherington.

Edward Witherington was my mother's eldest brother. His father was a lieutenant in the navy, and his mother was the favourite daughter of the Reverend Edward Fanning, a clergyman of considerable private fortune, and holding two valuable livings in the church of Ireland. Mr. Fanning, after the death of his wife, who was a Miss French, placed his daughter, Mrs. Witherington, at the head of his establishment, and took all her family to reside with him, adopting them as his own children. His residence was in Grafton Street in Dublin. Mrs. Witherington's family consisted of her husband and herself, two sons, and four daughters.

Mr. Fanning had another daughter married to a Mr. Blennerhasset Groves. Upon that gentleman's death, Mr. Fanning took Mrs. Groves also, and her daughters, to reside with him. Mr. Blennerhasset Groves was a merchant, residing in William Street, Dublin. At his death, he left about 10,000*l.* in personal property, and some houses in William Street, then valued at 5000*l.*, let on lease to a Mr. Humphrey Minchin, who succeeded him in his business. Mr. Groves, by his will, named his father-in-law, Mr. Fanning, as his sole executor, and sole trustee and guardian to his two daughters. Mr. Fanning collected the whole of Mr. Groves' personal property, and invested it in securities in his own name.

During the last years of Mr. Fanning's life he was very much confined to his room, attended solely by his daughter, Mrs. Witherington : she devoted her whole time to her father. His age, and his complaints, operating on a temper naturally peevish, and impatient, rendered his society unpleasant to strangers—but not so to his child. She smoothed his pillow—she soothed his declining years, and with unwearying love and attention sacrificed every feeling of self to promote his ease. She relinquished all intercourse with her connexions and friends, to devote all her care and attention to her father. So good a daughter could not fail to be an affectionate mother. She was passionately fond of her children, and especially of Edward, her eldest child, who was also a great favourite with his grandfather, by whom he was treated with extraordi-

nary liberality, and pushed forward in the army as rapidly as money could purchase promotion.

When Mr. Fanning died, he bequeathed 1000*l.* to each of his grand-daughters, the Misses Groves, if they should reach the age of 21 years, and gave the rest of his property to Mrs. Witherington and her children, naming her his residuary legatee; a Mr. George Mauleverer was named executor, but that gentleman declining to act, Mrs. Witherington administered to her father's effects.

I have said that Mr. Fanning had invested the property of the Groves' family in his own name. He died without declaring any trust of the property. The securities were found among the assets, and came into Mrs. Witherington's hands: she separated those securities from the other property, kept a distinct account of them, and Mrs. Groves being dead, and her daughters being 18 years of age, Mrs. Witherington, erroneously supposing that they were of full age, paid the interest of their money, as she received it, to them. They continued to reside with her until their death.

Upon that event, Mrs. Witherington gave a list of the securities which formed the Groves' property, to Mrs. Minchin, aunt to the Lord Chancellor Clare, as she was joint heir with the Chancellor, and a Mrs. Jeffries. Other persons also put in claims to the property: a chancery suit was the consequence, and Mrs. Witherington died before any decision was given. Colonel Witherington immediately possessed himself

of all her assets, under the circumstances which will be detailed presently. The securities of the Groves' property were among those assets, no interest had been received or demanded on them since those young ladies died, a period of five or six years, so that the property then amounted to about 12,000*l*. Edward Witherington pretended to consider the whole as his mother's property, and called it in as speedily as he could. The suit among the claimants continued. Colonel Witherington quitted the country, and set the heirs at defiance. At length, in 1825, being settled at Paris, he made some composition with the claimants, by which they obtained possession of the houses in William-street; and Colonel Witherington was permitted to keep what he had received on account of the money securities.

Colonel Witherington's differences with my father began from the first days of my father's marriage with Miss Harriett Witherington. The cause was as follows:

The Misses Groves were, as I have already said, erroneously supposed by Mrs. Witherington to have attained their majority at the age of eighteen; they had both died between that age and twenty-one, and from their eighteenth year had themselves received all the rents and interest of their properties, so that they constantly possessed considerable sums. On the death of the last survivor she was known to have had in her possession upwards of four hundred guineas in gold, the whole of which had disappeared. An inquiry took place, and the money seemed to be traced to Mr. Edward Witherington, when to clear himself, he solemnly

declared, not only that he had not taken it, but that his sister Harriett had, and that she had given it to her sister Mrs. Theobald Wolfe Tone. This coming to Mr. Tone's ears, he insisted on a full investigation. Mr. Edward Witherington became alarmed, and confessed in private to his mother that he had taken the money. Upon this Mrs. Witherington, anxious to screen her son's misconduct, told Mr. Tone that she herself had taken it and lent it to her son, who had given her two promissory notes, the one payable in six, the other in twelve months *after demand,* to be placed among the Groves' securities, where my father saw them shortly after his marriage, when Mrs. Witherington related the above circumstance to him. My father had heard some imperfect accounts of this transaction, from which it appeared that my mother was still reproached with it; and this induced him first to ask an explanation from his mother-in-law, and then to insist upon a statement of the facts from Mr. Edward Witherington himself in the presence of his assembled family. He therefore took occasion, on the same day on which he had spoken to Mrs. Witherington, after dinner in the presence of the whole family, to relate all the above facts in the plainest and strongest terms, stating that he had his information from Mrs. Witherington, and that he had seen the notes: and he then demanded of Mr. Edward Witherington if he could deny any part of the statement? That gentleman began by observing that it was no affair of my father's, but concerned the Groves' property alone. My father replied that

he neither knew nor cared a straw about the Groves' affairs, but he did care, and would clear his wife's character from this charge of robbery—that he adopted this method as the mildest effectual mode of doing so; and having now stated the facts, before all the family, if full satisfaction was not made on the spot, by Mr. Edward Witherington's unqualified acknowledgment, he should certainly take other measures immediately. A scene ensued, which ended in Mr. Edward Witherington making an unqualified admission that he had taken the money, and that the whole of the foregoing statement was in every respect correct.

After such a transaction it will easily be believed, that Mr. Edward Witherington and my father never could be sincere friends.

Catherine, the third daughter of Mr. Witherington, had contracted a marriage with Mr. John Heavyside, who was then employed in the Bank of Ireland. This union took place without the consent of the lady's mother, but my father's interference brought about a reconciliation. Mr. Fanning had bequeathed 500*l.* to each of Mrs. Witherington's daughters, and my father's influence over his mother-in-law, coinciding with her own affection, prevailed on her to add 1000*l.*, as a gift to her daughter. Mr. Heavyside had by his marriage acquired a right to the 500*l.*, but on receiving the 1000*l.* additional, he joined in settling the entire 1500*l.* upon the issue of the marriage. The money was paid by assigning to the trustees of the settlement two bonds of Mr. George Carey, the one for 500*l.* and

the other for 1000*l.* Mr. Edward Witherington and my father were appointed trustees.

Mr. Edward Witherington had lost a large sum of money at play to this Mr. George Carey, who was his cousin, and he had paid a part of it: 500*l.* still remained unpaid. Mr. Carey pressed for the money as soon as he heard that his bonds had been assigned to the trustees of this marriage settlement, and Mr. Edward Witherington prevailed on his mother to solicit my father to join in releasing the bond for 500*l.* to Mr. Carey in discharge of the gaming debt. She told my father she had made a will, which she showed him on that occasion, by which she had bequeathed 500*l.* to her son Edward; and she sent for Mr. Black, her attorney, and caused him to add a codicil, directing that the 500*l.*, which she had bequeathed to Edward, should on her death be applied in replacing this trust-money, in case Edward should not have previously replaced it. This occurred not quite two years before her death. My father saw this will after the codicil had been added, but it was not forthcoming after her death.

On the death of Mrs. Witherington, my father pressed Mr. Edward Witherington to pay, or to secure this money for the trust. He postponed doing so, under various frivolous pretences. At last Mr. and Mrs. Heavyside became alarmed, and urged him on the same subject. Mr. Edward Witherington replied by telling them that if he gave his bond for the money, it would in fact be diminishing their security, because so long as it remained unsettled, my father was equally

responsible with him, but that, as soon as they accepted his security, it released Mr. Reynolds, which he said Mr. Reynolds well knew, and was therefore so anxious to bring him to a settlement. This conversation was reported to my father on the same day, and in consequence of it he called on Mr. Edward Witherington, told him what he had heard, and insisted on an immediate settlement, adding, that if he did not go on that day before twelve o'clock to the office of his (my father's) attorney, and settle the matter, he would direct legal proceedings to be commenced against him. Upon this Mr. Edward Witherington went to Mr. Furlong's, and signed the necessary bond, on which he afterwards paid the interest, but the principal remained unpaid in the year 1830; I know not whether it has since been paid.

After Mr. Fanning's death, Mrs. Witherington, whose children were all settled in life except her younger son Henry, finding herself lonely in the large house in Grafton-street, hired the greater part of a furnished house belonging to my father in Ashe-street. The apartments she occupied were a dining parlour on the ground-floor; two drawing-rooms, a bed-room, and a large boudoir, on the first floor; two large bed-rooms on the second floor, and the kitchens. Mrs. Witherington occupied the bed-room on the first floor; it opened into the large drawing-room: the small drawing-room was occupied by her husband as his bed-room. One of the rooms on the second floor was reserved for visitors; the other was occupied by her

own maid. Mr. Henry Witherington, a mere youth, slept in his mother's bed-room. The ground-floor, in the rear of the house, was used by my father for his offices, and Mr. Peter Sullivan, at that time his cashier, had a room on the second floor. This house had belonged to my father's grandfather, and had been occupied by Mr. Warren for some years: it communicated in the rear with my father's town-house.

About a year after her establishment in Ashe-street, Mrs. Witherington determined to put her son Henry into the army; and Captain Edward Witherington undertook to purchase for him the first vacant cornetcy in the 9th dragoons, which was the regiment in which he himself served. After a delay of some months he came to Dublin, and acquainted his mother that he had agreed for a cornetcy for 300 guineas, and that he would call upon her the next day for the money to pay for it. She sent to my father for that sum, which she had left in his hands for the purpose. Mr. Sullivan carried up the money to her in gold, took her receipt, and entered it in the books of the office. Captain Edward Witherington breakfasted with my father next morning, and after breakfast went to his mother's apartments, where he remained closeted with her until after twelve o'clock, when he left the house, and went out of town without calling to see any of the family. The cornetcy was purchased in the following manner: Captain Edward Witherington held the bond of a Mr. Jones for 150*l.*, which, though secure, was rather difficult to call in. He also had an ensigncy to

sell on his own account, and he bargained to transfer the ensigncy and the bond in exchange for the cornetcy, while he kept the 300*l.* received from his mother. This took place in March, 1797, and Captain Edward Witherington returned no more to Dublin until he was called up by his mother's death, which happened on the 18th of the following month. She had long been in a very declining state of health, scarcely eating an ounce of food in the day, and she was constantly affected with headaches, dizziness, and pains in her stomach, to such a degree that at last she determined to call in medical advice. She accordingly sent for Mr. Garrat Fitzgerald, who ordered her to take an emetic, and gave full directions to herself and her maid on the subject. On leaving Mrs. Witherington, Mr. Fitzgerald (who was my father's medical attendant) called upon him, and took a small paper containing two or three grains of tartar-emetic out of my mother's family medicine-chest, which he requested my father to give to Mrs. Witherington. My father went to her room with the paper, to give any directions or explanation she might require. Her husband and her maid were sitting with her: she was walking about the room in great apparent agony. They said that Mr. Fitzgerald had given all necessary instructions, and Mrs. Witherington received the parcel. Mrs. Reynolds called, in the course of the day, on her mother, who said she had taken the emetic, and found herself much better, having eaten a poached egg after it. This happened on Friday the 16th. The medical attendant called in the evening,

when he found that Mrs. Witherington, feeling herself so much better after the emetic, had been very imprudent in her diet. On Saturday morning she was up, and about the house; she complained of her head and stomach, but said that, on the whole, she was not worse. So little idea was there of any danger, that my father and mother went on that evening to the private theatre, which was then a place of fashionable amusement. On their return, seeing a light in her bed-room, my father went across the court-yard to inquire how she was, and having tapped at her bed-room door, he was answered from within, by her son Henry, that she was better, and asleep. Early on Sunday morning, however, Mr. Henry Witherington came to my father's bedside, to say that his mother was worse, and that he had sent for Mr. Fitzgerald, and, as he had not come instantly, he had called the nearest physician he could find. My father and my mother directly got up, and found Mr. Fitzgerald and another medical man, as well as her husband and her son Henry, all in Mrs. Witherington's bed-room. It seems, that on Saturday evening, finding her worse, her husband, or her son, gave her the remainder of the tartar-emetic, which had so much relieved her before: this took place while my father and mother were at the theatre, and when they returned, she had fallen into a sort of sleep from mere exhaustion.

My father only learned what had taken place while he was at the theatre, after a lapse of many years, when

Mr. Henry Witherington himself related it to him at Uske, in Monmouthshire.

The two medical men at once declared her past all hope; and she expired, without appearing to suffer any agony, at ten o'clock in the morning; the medical men remaining with her to the last.

Her husband directly took possession of her pockets, which were in the old style, very large, and contained a variety of articles. He and his son then locked and sealed the door of her dressing-room and the drawers of her bureau, declaring that they should only be opened in the presence of the whole of the family. They both remained a month longer in the house; but, having no establishment of their own, they lived at my father's table. A letter was instantly written to Captain Edward Witherington, who was then with his regiment in the north; and it was determined to postpone the interment until he should be present. Meanwhile, my father's old foreman, John Short, was ordered to give the usual directions preparatory to the funeral. Mrs. Witherington was an uncommonly large and corpulent person, and when the undertaker heard that the body was to be preserved an uncertain time for Captain Witherington's return, he declared it quite impossible to suffer it to remain on the bed; and that even in the coffin it would be very hazardous, if the coffin was to be opened. Therefore, to prevent the inconvenience which would necessarily arise from the increasing putrefaction, the undertaker ordered a sheet to be pre-

pared with pitch, and when the body was dressed in its grave-clothes, he wrapped this sheet over all, and laid the corpse in the coffin. The face was, as usual, uncovered by the grave-clothes, and the pitched sheet was loosely laid over, but not touching it. This was all done in the presence of Henry and her husband, in her front drawing-room, which opened into her husband's bed-room.

Captain Witherington arrived on the Wednesday or Thursday; he went alone into the room where the body lay, and, as I have heard, lifted up the sheet, when the offensive smell, the livid appearance of the flesh, and some atoms of the pitch which had fallen on it from the sheet, had such an effect upon him that he ordered the coffin to be finally closed, while he went into her bed-room and passed several hours examining (alone) the contents of her dressing-room and bureau. The funeral took place on the next day: Captain Witherington remained examining his mother's papers, *alone*, until five o'clock, when he went to dine with my father. Mr. Witherington and Henry had already arrived. After dinner, Captain Witherington spoke of the 300 guineas which Mr. Sullivan had paid to his mother, saying it was extraordinary he did not find them there. My father sent for Mr. Sullivan, who produced her receipt and the entry of the payment on the day-book, and added, that he had himself counted the money to her in gold, on the day of Captain Witherington's last arrival in Dublin, in the preceding month. Captain Witherington repeated his surprise at not finding the

money. Astonished at his manner of expressing himself, my father told him, that having taken upon himself to open the places which had been sealed up, and having passed so many hours, alone, examining the drawers, he might tell what story he pleased as to what he did or did not find; but that, as to the money in question, it would have been rather extraordinary if he had found it there, as he (Captain Witherington) had himself received it when he was last in town—reminding him that he came up to Dublin expressly for that money; that his mother drew it and received it for the purpose of giving it to him; and that, on the following day, he remained several hours closeted with her, and went off without asking to see any of the rest of the family. My father added, that he saw no right which Captain Witherington had, more than his brothers and sisters, to possess himself of his mother's property; and that, if he intended fairly, he would have called them to be present at the breaking of the seals and the examination of the papers. Captain Witherington replied, that his father, who was his mother's heir and representative, had given him the keys, and desired him to do so. My father said he doubted the fact, because his mother had made a will, which would best show who were her heirs and representatives. Captain Witherington said there was *no will*. My father replied, that there certainly was a will, regularly drawn and executed, and that it ought to be among her papers. Mr. Witherington, who was present, seemed to assent to all that his son said: so my father added,

"Among ye be it, gentlemen, but trouble me no more about the matter:" and, in fact, he heard no more of the matter until the trials of the rebels, although Mr. Witherington and Henry continued to occupy his house, and, with Captain Witherington, to live at his table, for a month after this conversation, when the captain, on obtaining his majority, and arranging finally for his brother's cornetcy, procured rooms in Dublin barracks for the accommodation of them all.

A remarkable circumstance occurred a few days afterwards, when Captain Witherington was making arrangements for the payment of the purchase-money of the regimental rank of major. A rank called second major had just been created in all cavalry regiments, which rank was offered to any captain in the regiment who would give his troop and 1100*l.* in cash for it; and this second major was to succeed, as a matter of course, without further purchase, to the first majority, whenever that rank should be vacated by death or otherwise. Captain Witherington was senior captain in the 9th dragoons, and declared himself ready to purchase; but, not having sufficient ready money, he asked my father to lend him 200*l.*, saying he had *three hundred pounds in cash*, and a bond of Mr. Stewart, a lawyer in Dublin, to whom he had given notice of payment, and who promised it in a day or two. My father lent him the money, for which he gave his promissory note, payable in twelve months. This spare sum of 300*l.* tallying so exactly with that which his mother had received two months before, caused not

only my father, but all the family, to feel convinced of the fact that he had got it. It was a short time after this that my father was under the necessity of using the peremptory measures before mentioned, to compel him to make a settlement for the 500*l.* he had used of his sister Catherine's fortune. These repeated exposures caused an open and avowed breach between them, which led Major Witherington to commit injuries towards my father of the deepest die.

About twelve months after Mrs. Witherington's death, on the 20th of April, 1798, the measure of free-quartering the troops was put in force against my father at Kilkea Castle. At this time Major Witherington's promissory note for 200*l.* was on the eve of becoming due in the hands of one Mr. Burnett, a butcher in Dublin, to whom my father had passed it. It also happened that the cavalry sent to Kilkea were the identical troop of the 9th dragoons in which Mr. Henry Witherington was cornet; but Colonel Campbell, who commanded in Athy, felt the impropriety of sending an officer on such a service to his brother-in-law's house, and exchanged him on the following day.

Major Witherington fancying my father would be willing to purchase his influence, in order to be relieved from the military, rode to Kilkea, where my father was held in durance by Captain Erskine; and coming into his room, after some common-place condolence, said that, in consequence of his rank, he was much consulted by Colonel Campbell, and had seen all the

orders received by the colonel, in which, though allowed discretionary powers, he was advised to proceed in the severest manner against those who should be found guilty of aiding, encouraging, or in any way participating with, the United Irishmen; that the strongest suspicions were entertained against my father, which he said wanted very little of what Colonel Campbell would deem a certainty; and that, in fact, nothing but a feeling of delicacy towards him, his brother officer, had prevented Colonel Campbell from visiting my father earlier. He then represented the unhappiness of family disputes, and how greatly it would be to my father's advantage to end them, and to acquire through his means military protection in such troublesome times.

"Now," said he, "I will at once end all such family differences, and bury all the past in oblivion, and I will not only have this quartering removed from your house, but I will stand to the utmost of my power between you and all future visits of this kind; I only expect that, on your part, you will deliver up to me the promissory note I gave you for 200*l.*"

My father's indignation was unbounded: he told Major Witherington that he was an infamous villain thus to attempt to take advantage of the presence of his soldiers to insult and rob him—that he should pay his note or go to gaol—that as to Colonel Campbell, he defied him—and that, as for himself, if his baseness was not surpassed by his cowardice, he would order the sergeant who was then on guard in the gallery to lend him his sabre, and they could then settle their differ-

ences on the spot. Major Witherington walked off, and immediately left the Castle.

I have been obliged to anticipate events a little in the account of this last transaction, that I might not interrupt the thread of my narrative. I think I have said enough to show the causes which led to Edward Witherington's animosity towards my father. I have suppressed many other facts, and would willingly have been for ever silent on all these family matters. My object is not to attack any one; and I am only sorry that I shall be compelled, again and again, to bring forward Edward Witherington's name, and to place his conduct in its true light.

It will strike my readers as singular that Major Witherington, possessing the influence over Colonel Campbell which he said he did, and which assertion, indeed, his rank of major would in a great degree justify, did not use that influence to prevent the visitation of the troops in the first instance; but if he had done so, he might imagine that he would not have been able to enforce his demand for the delivery of his promissory note, in the absence of the powerful arguments afforded by a troop of dragoons.

It will be observed that, as yet, I have avoided every allusion to my father's political career, and I have been perhaps too prolix in the account I have given of his private life. It is true that the subjects on which I have hitherto written do not usually afford much interest to the reader; but those details have been forced from me by a series of calumnies, which I

cannot allow to remain uncontradicted. It has been said that my father was a low-born and needy adventurer; therefore I have thought it incumbent on me to show that he was well connected, and closely related to the first families in Ireland; and that, up to January, 1798, he was living in ease, affluence, and respectability. The history of Mr. Warren, and the circumstances related in the preceding chapters, are indispensable to the right understanding of what follows, especially on the trials of the rebels.

I have mentioned names enough to prove my statements; and I now publicly call upon my father's defamers to gainsay, if they can, one syllable of what I have here advanced. I have documentary evidence to prove the whole of my statements, and Mr. and Mrs. Heavyside, as well as many other persons, are living, and can contradict me if I have advanced anything that is not correct.

CHAPTER III.

Rise and Progress of the United Irish Society—The real Designs of the Founders as expressed by Theobald Wolfe Tone—Rapid Growth of the Society in Ulster—Samuel Neilson edites the Northern Star—Archibald Hamilton Rowan imprisoned—Organization of the Society—The Initiatory Oath—The Honourable Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond fined and imprisoned—The Convention Bill passed—The Societies continue to increase—Overtures from France—Rev. W. Jackson found guilty of High Treason—takes Poison—The Test undergoes a change—The Defenders join the Society—Mr. Tone goes to America—whence he is induced to proceed to France—His Negociations—Military Organization of the United Irish Society begun in Ulster—The Insurrection Act—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Yeomanry Force established—Bantry Bay Expedition—The Society degenerates into Defenderism—Greatly checked in the Summer of 1797—Re-organized in the Autumn—The Union Star—The Press Newspaper, edited by Mr. Arthur O'Connor—The Societies increase greatly—Defeat of the Dutch Fleet by Admiral Duncan.

1791 to 1797.

HAVING thus brought down the principal events of my father's life to the end of the year 1797, at which time he became more intimately connected with the United Irish Society, I must now go back a few years in my narrative, in order to give an account of the rise and progress of that association, which, as Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone says, "commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland."

The first club of United Irishmen was formed at

Belfast on the 14th of October, 1791, by Theobald Wolfe Tone, aided by his friend Thomas Russell. The *avowed* object was to form a union of all parties in Ireland, whether Protestant of the Established Church, Protestant Dissenter, or Roman Catholic, for the purpose of obtaining, by their joint endeavours, the entire emancipation of the Catholics, and a reform of the Irish House of Commons. The first club consisted of thirty-six members. The Honourable Simon Butler was chairman, and Mr. James Napper Tandy secretary. Among the members were Keogh, William Sinclair, Samuel Neilson, M'Cabe, and the two brothers Sims. On the 9th of November following a similar club was formed in Dublin, which adopted the resolution which had received the approbation of the parent society in Belfast, that "We have no national government."

But though the *avowed* object was thus in harmony with the laws, and though doubtless the greater number of the members contemplated nothing beyond what was strictly legal, I feel it necessary to state, and to prove beyond the possibility of doubt, that, from the first hour the society was established, the founders had very different views, and that emancipation and reform were merely pretexts put forward to entice men to join their standard. Mr. Tone himself shall furnish the proof of this. He says that "in 1789 he made a discovery that the influence of England was the radical vice of the Irish government, and consequently that Ireland would never be either free, prosperous, or happy, until she was independent, and that independence was unat-

tainable *whilst the connexion with England existed;*" and he adds that "that theory had ever since directed his political conduct."* Again, speaking of his friend Mr. Whitely Stokes, he says, "The tenderness and humanity of his disposition is such that he recoils from any measures to be attempted for the emancipation of Ireland which may terminate in blood; in this respect I have not the virtue to imitate him."† A month or two before the formation of the club in Belfast, he says, "To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, *to break the connexion with England,* the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishmen, in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter—these were my means."‡ In another place he says, "My object was to secure the independence of my country under any form of government, to which I was led by a hatred of England so deeply rooted in my nature, that it was rather an instinct than a principle."§ Again he says, in another place, "In the year 1791, the Dissenters of Belfast formed the first club of United Irishmen, so called, because in that club, for the first time in Ireland, Dissenters and Catholics were seen together in harmony and union. A similar club was immediately

* Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. i. p. 32. † Ib. p. 41.
‡ Ib. p. 51. § Ib. p. 55.

formed in Dublin, which became speedily famous for its publications, and the sufferings of its members. Means have been adopted to spread similar clubs throughout Ulster. Their object is to subvert the tyranny of England, to establish the independence of Ireland, and *to frame a free republic* on the broad basis of liberty and equality."* These are precious documents, for which I have to thank Mr. William Tone,† but they do not stand alone; for it clearly appears, from the letter of Mr. Tone accompanying the original constitution,‡ which he transmitted to Belfast for adoption, that, from its commencement, the real purpose of those who were at the head of this institution was to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and to subvert the established constitution of the kingdom. In that letter he says, "The foregoing contain my sincere opinion of the state of this country, *so far as, in the present juncture, it may be advisable to publish it.* They certainly fall short of the truth; but truth itself must sometimes condescend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is,

* Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. ii. p. 188.

† Mr. William Theobald Wolfe Tone, in his comments on his father's writings, seems to have forgotten these positive declarations which he had just before transcribed; for he says, "The primitive object of the society was merely to form a union of all religious denominations, whose members, abjuring every former feud, should join their efforts to reform the abuses of the government and constitution of the country, and restore the rights of free and equal citizenship to Irishmen of every sect and religion"—(vol. i. p. 72); and, again, "He (Mr. Tone) only sought to obtain, without the struggles of a revolution, the gradual emancipation of his country by legal and constitutional means."—(vol. i. p. 74.)

‡ See Appendix, No. 5.

that the bane of Irish prosperity is the influence of England: I believe that influence will ever be extended, while the connexion between the countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that opinion is *for the present* too hardy, I have not made it a part of the resolutions. I have not said one word that looks like a wish for separation, though I give it to you and your friends as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be a regeneration to this country."* The Committee of Secrecy, in its report to the Irish House of Commons in 1797, says, "It appears to your Committee, that, in the original formation of this society, its authors, to avoid alarming the feelings of those who were not prepared at once to go to the full extent of their dangerous and traitorous designs, held forth Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform as the ostensible objects of their union; but their real purposes were to separate Great Britain from Ireland, and to subvert the constitution." The committee of 1798 uses similar language; and Dr. William James M'Nevin, in his examination upon oath before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, on the 7th August, 1798, on being asked if the reports of the Secret Committees were accurate, answered, "I believe they were accurate, save that they understated the number of men and arms."† I could

* Report from the Secret Committee, App. No. 2.

† Secret Report, App. No. 31. Dr. M'Nevin, in his Pieces of Irish History, attempts to deny this fact. The first piece is an essay by Emmet, in which he notices the charge, but attempts to refute it, by saying,

easily multiply proofs on this subject, but I think I have clearly made out my assertions as to the real designs of the United Irish leaders, and their motives for keeping those designs secret. As I continue I shall show that the same plans were acted upon to the last moment.

During the year 1792 the attention of the leaders was principally directed to the engaging in the society persons of activity and talents in every quarter of the kingdom, and in preparing the public mind for their future purposes, by the circulation of the most seditious publications, particularly the works of Thomas Paine. "Some artful and ill-minded demagogues," says Mr. Plowden, "availed themselves of the popular fever, which had never totally abated from the year 1782. The pernicious doctrines of Mr. Paine, artfully mixed up with popular truisms, were circulated at the lowest price, distributed gratis, and imbibed with insatiable avidity."* Still they continued very cautious of alarming minds not sufficiently ripe for the adoption of their principles, by the too open disclosure of the real object they had in view.† The societies multiplied with great rapidity; the Catholics particularly flocked in crowds;‡ and before the expiration of the year the association was extended very generally throughout the

that no such designs were entertained *by the bodies at large*. There we are agreed: *the bodies at large* were kept in the dark till they were found ripe enough.

* Plowden's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 303.

† Sec. Rep. p. 5. ‡ Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 55.

province of Ulster, and had taken deep root in that of Leinster. Samuel Neilson of Belfast was particularly active. In a letter which he writes to Mr. Tone, on the 21st of November, he says,—"You can form no conception of the rapid progress of the union here; and I do assure you we are further forward than even I expected we should have been in a twelvemonth. The universal question throughout the country is, 'When do we begin? Do we refuse hearth-money or tithes first?'"* Indeed the people of Belfast were not idle; they spared neither pains nor expense to spread their new doctrine through the whole north of Ireland; and they had the satisfaction to see their proselytes very rapidly extending in all directions. The more effectually to spread their principles, "twelve of the most active and intelligent among them subscribed 250*l.* each to set on foot a paper, whose object should be to give a fair statement of all that passed in France, whither every one turned his eyes; to inculcate the necessity of union amongst Irishmen of all religious persuasions, to support the emancipation of the Catholics, and finally, as the necessary, *though not avowed,* consequence of all this, *to erect Ireland into a republic* independent of England." This paper was called the "Northern Star," and was edited by Samuel Neilson. It was entirely devoted to the principles and views of the United Irishmen.† While the Belfast leaders were thus exerting themselves, their Dublin associates were not less active.

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 221. † Ibid. p. 68.

They raised a body of men, whom they called the First National Battalion. Their uniform was green turned up with white, white waistcoat, and striped trousers, gilt buttons, impressed with a harp, and letters importing "First National Battalion;" no crown, but over the harp was a cap of liberty upon a pike. This battalion was to have been publicly reviewed by their commander, James Napper Tandy, on the 9th of December, but the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation on the 8th, forbidding all such assemblage, and ordering the magistracy to employ the garrison troops, if necessary, to prevent it. The leaders resolved, however, to make another effort, and Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan signed and published a proclamation* on the 14th of December, inviting the kingdom to arm after the Dungannon example, and to send deputies to Armagh to consider and organize measures for obtaining a redress of grievances. The executive government now found it necessary to take strong and decided measures to stop their revolutionary designs. Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan was arrested, tried, condemned, and sentenced to two years imprisonment in Newgate, whence he afterwards contrived to escape and fled to France.

Before we take leave of the year 1792, let us see whether Dr. M'Nevin, who, in his "Pieces of Irish History," denies the fact of the leaders having secret and traitorous designs at this period, is borne out in his

* See Appendix No. 6.

denial by the evidence of those leaders themselves. It is undeniable that, in 1792, Tone, Neilson, Keogh, Hamilton Rowan, Oliver Bond, and James Napper Tandy, were among the most active leaders. Tone tells us that he dined with the club at the Donegal Arms in Belfast on the 16th July, 1792, and that at the dinner "the flags of America, Poland, France, and Ireland, were displayed; but," says he, "*no England.*"*

On the 9th of September he dined at Castle Brown with Rowan, and after dinner they drank "The spirit of the French mob to the people of Ireland."†

On the 25th of October he writes, "This is the king's accession. How many more accessions shall we have?"‡

On the 29th of October intelligence reached Ireland of the expulsion of the German armies from France, on which occasion advertisements were handed about Dublin by Oliver Bond and James Napper Tandy, ordering a general illumination; and a few days afterwards Tone writes, "Right or wrong, success to the French! they are fighting our battles; and, if they fail, adieu to liberty in Ireland for one century!"§

On the 29th of November Tone says, "*Gog* (a familiar nickname, by which he tells us that he has designated Mr. Keogh throughout his Memoirs), Gog seems to-day disposed for all manner of treason and mischief, separation of the countries, &c., a republic,

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 162. † Ibid. p. 182. ‡ Ibid. p. 198.
§ Ibid. p. 205.

&c.; is of opinion this will not end without blows, and says, he for one is ready. Is he? Mr. Hutton (Tone thus designates himself) quite prepared, having nothing to lose."*

Samuel Neilson in a letter to Tone says, "The people of Cork, Galway, Limerick, and Waterford, are by no means friendly to the doctrine of the people's sovereignty. I do not blame them for not joining us in hallooing up the French, for there are many things in their conduct that, under all the circumstances of the case, cannot be very acceptable to an Irish Catholic. But I blame them, severely blame them, for attacking the principle; and I fear they are far behind you, and by no means ripe yet."†

Now, though each of these facts, taken separately, might not be considered as sufficient evidence to prove traitorous designs, yet, when taken collectively, and coupled with Tone's own avowal of his plans and wishes, as related above, they must convince every candid mind, that all the persons I have here named were privy to those plans, and using all their endeavours to forward them; and this appears to be alluded to by Mr. W. H. Curran, who, speaking of these societies, confesses that, though many of those who took an active part in their proceedings *at every period* of their existence, would originally have been satisfied with a reform, "*yet there were exceptions.*"‡

The United Irish Association was, in its conception

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 208. † Ibid. p. 221

‡ Life of Curran, by his Son, vol. i. p. 354, note.

and in its original formation, essentially Protestant; it was planned by Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, who was a Protestant. At its dissolution in 1798, among the 17 principal leaders, there was only one Roman Catholic, and during the actual rebellion the principal men of rank and fortune found at the head of the insurgents were Protestants, as Cornelius Grogan, a Protestant gentleman possessing property to the amount of 8000*l.* or 10,000*l.* a-year, in the county of Wexford; Beauchamp Bagenal Hervey, who commanded the rebels at the battle of Ross, the fiercest and best-contested affair of the whole rebellion, also a Protestant gentleman possessing property to the amount of 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* a-year in the same county. Mr. Keugh, a Protestant of considerable respectability, was rebel commandant in Wexford during the whole period of its occupation by the insurgents. Mr. Anthony Perry, another Protestant of rank and fortune, acted as general among the rebels, and was their leader in the affair denominated Bloody Friday. All these persons suffered death in Wexford, after the rebellion had been put down in those parts. Yet certainly, in a country where four-fifths of the population are Roman Catholics, the mass of such an extensive association must necessarily have been of that persuasion; and, unhappily for themselves and their country, so inveterately rooted are the prejudices of religious antipathy in the minds of all the lower, the middle, and not a few of the upper classes of Irish Roman Catholics, that any civil war, however originating from causes unconnected with religion, is speedily

converted into a rancorous religious quarrel, in which the connexions, the education, the condition, and the habits of their clergy, too frequently lead many of them to join; as on the occasion in question did Father John Murphy, parish priest of Boulavogue, Father Michael Murphy of Ballycannon, Father Murphy of Taghmon, Father Kern, Father Philip Roche, Father John Redmond and others, who, as generals, headed rebels, and fearlessly fought in the thickest dangers.

The Association was constituted so as to place the most minute and effectual control in the hands of five or six leaders, while it completely concealed those leaders and their real designs from the knowledge of the rest of the associates, who, though continually receiving orders, advice, and reports, never knew from whence they originally issued.

The society was formed in the following manner :*— 15 or 20 neighbours, who had taken the oath, met and became a simple society, choosing from among themselves three officers to conduct their meetings. These officers were denominated a secretary, a treasurer, and a delegate, and were usually the most active and zealous, or the most respectable persons belonging to the meeting.

When eight or ten such simple societies were formed in the same neighbourhood, their officers met and became a Baronial Committee, which, in like manner, chose three of its members as officers, under similar denominations.

* This organization was not completely established until the year 1795.

Sometimes, when the simple societies were too numerous in any district, they formed an intermediate committee, which they called a Lower Baronial.

When eight or ten baronials were formed, their officers became a District Committee.

The officers of all the District Committees in one county met, and became a County Committee.

The officers from all the counties in each province met in a similar manner, and constituted a Provincial Committee.

There are four provinces in Ireland. It was intended that their 12 officers should form a National Committee, which alone was to communicate with the Directory, by a person to be chosen, not by the National Committee, but by the Directory. This person was also to act as secretary and sole officer of the National, which would thus consist of 13 persons. But this National Committee was never formed, as the Association extended but feebly into the province of Connaught, and though numerous in the province of Munster, yet its organization was backward and incomplete.

In Ulster, it was very numerous and very complete; its provincial met at Belfast, and had its own separate channel of communication with the agent of the Directory at Dublin.

The province of Leinster was also very numerous and complete; its provincial met in Dublin, where the agent of the Directory attended its meetings, and acted as its secretary and president, and through him all communications were made.

Here again an obvious reflection presents itself, namely, that the only two organised provinces were the two which were the most Protestant, and of the other two, that which was the most decidedly Roman Catholic, Connaught, was the least tainted of all.

The officers throughout the whole Association were strictly forbidden even to mention the name of any person they met in the upper committees of which they formed a part, or to report any of the proceedings of those upper committees to their constituents, without having received especial orders to do so. Thus the associates were in ignorance of the proceedings, as well as of the persons in all the committees above them: any indiscreet inquiry, or any disobedience of orders, or hesitation to obey, created suspicion, and suspicion in general was death.

The Association spread to such a degree that, on its dissolution in 1798, the returns exceeded 400,000 men, a vast many of whom were perfect fanatics, ready to perform the wildest, the most atrocious act suggested in their committees, or commanded in the name of the Directory. Every man who was not a member, or who did not evince a marked bias and protection towards the members, and their opinions, was considered as an enemy, and devoted as a fair object of destruction, in person and property, whenever a secure opportunity for attacking either the one or the other might be afforded.

The Directory was a self-created mysterious body, whose persons, means, motions, and intentions, were

alike unknown, save only so far as they thought proper to communicate them through their agent; and all orders so communicated must be implicitly obeyed. There were five directors at its dissolution, four Protestants, and one Roman Catholic.

I should here observe that throughout this narrative, I mean by Protestants, to indicate all those who are not Roman Catholics, whether they be of the church of England, or Presbyterians, or other dissenters.

Every person on admission made a declaration in the form of an oath; "That he would cordially unite in endeavouring to obtain Catholic Emancipation, and a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, by means of an impartial and adequate representation of the people; that he would use every means in his power to promote union and brotherly affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion; and that neither hopes, fears, rewards or punishments, should induce him to reveal what should pass among United Irishmen in forwarding these views, *pursuant to the spirit of the obligation he then took upon him**."

Such was the oath—such were the whole of the obligations a man took upon himself, and of the motives and views of the United Irishmen with which he was

* The words of this oath or test were changed several times. In the report from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, we find one version at page 48, another at page 77, and a third at page 230, all slightly differing; but the only material change made, was the leaving out all mention of Parliament; the oath then ran thus: "to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland." In other respects the spirit of the oath remained unchanged.

made acquainted on becoming a member of that association. He was made to believe the sole view was to obtain reform in Parliament and Catholic emancipation, and to have an end put to all the unhappy party disputes which had so long desolated his country.

It must be allowed that the oath contains nothing contrary to allegiance, to honour, or to loyalty—nothing which can by any fair construction be held as opposed to the oath of allegiance; but, on the contrary, that it is in perfect conformity with the sentiments of our greatest statesmen, of the best supporters of the throne and of the constitution. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, Lord Grey, Lord Grenville, Lord Castlereagh,* Mr. Flood—all have at some period of their public career avowed these to be their principles, in public and in private, in parliament and in the courts of justice. The latter part of the oath can only be considered in reference to the former part—that is, not to reveal what should pass relative to the objects for which they had united, as specified: a legal and a constitutional object, deservedly dear, and desirable to all men. If murder or any other heinous crime was brought under consideration, and about to be perpetrated, by one or more United Irishmen, could a man be considered as breaking this oath by preventing it? much less could it be supposed that by taking it he pledged himself to murder, to robbery, to treason, and

* See Appendix No. 7 for the proceedings of the Northern Whig Club, held at Belfast on the 16th of April, 1790, of which Lord Castlereagh was a member.

to every other species of crime, and placed himself as a blind instrument in the hands of he knew not whom, to bring ruin and infamy on his country and himself. Yet such was the doctrine acted upon by the leaders of this society, and which is still attempted to be maintained by those who once formed a part of it, and by their friends. The moment a man became a member of it he unexpectedly found himself placed under the censorship of all his associates; the slightest hesitation, opposition, or disapproval of the orders or reports communicated from the upper committees, was considered as treason and disaffection; keeping company or habitually associating with persons unfriendly to the association was held to be just cause of suspicion. A man's acquaintances, his servants, his relatives, and frequently his very children, were so many spies on all his words and actions, which, if suspicious, were directly denounced in some committee.

The leaders, conscious of their own criminal projects, and in constant dread of discovery notwithstanding their precautions, promoted by every means in their power this jealous and suspicious system of espionage among the associates.

Green is the national colour of Ireland; the United Irishmen, pretending to be the only true friends of their country, usurped it as their colour. Short hair was the mode among the Revolutionists in Paris; the United Irishmen universally cut their hair short, and thence, as a term of reproach, they were denominated Croppies by the adverse party. During the years 1797

and 1798, when party-spirit ran very high and the country was under martial law, having short hair, or showing any particle of green upon the person, was sufficient to subject the wearer to ill usage, and not unfrequently to torture, and even to death, from the opposite faction.

In the beginning of the year 1793 the House of Lords appointed a secret committee to inquire into the causes of the disturbances which were so prevalent throughout the country, and especially in the county of Louth. That committee thought proper to examine witnesses on oath, and the United Irishmen, fearing a premature discovery of their designs, published a series of observations calculated to show that the committee had no such right. In consequence of that publication the Honourable Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, who, as chairman and secretary, had signed it, were brought before the House on the 1st of March, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 500*l.* each. The result of the report of the committee was the celebrated Convention Bill, the object of which was to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies under the pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his Majesty or the parliament. All such assemblies were by the bill declared unlawful. This bill was a severe blow to the United Irishmen. It obliged them to use the greatest secrecy and circumspection in all their proceedings, and had it been vigorously enforced it would probably have nipped the entire association in the bud. All the United Irish-

men who have given any account of the proceedings of their party show, by the rancorous manner in which they speak of this bill, how grievously it annoyed them. Mr. W. Tone thus speaks of it:—"The increasing insolence of the administration roused the spirit of the people. Openly trampling on law and decency, its oppressive measures fired the hearts of the multitude with indignation, and spread the affiliation of the United Irishmen more rapidly than could have been done by all the efforts of the patriotic leaders. Their views were no longer bounded to Catholic emancipation and reform of parliament; they aimed at *separation*, liberty, and even revenge. Their societies took a fiercer character, and then, for the first time, began those secret oaths and associations by which their members bound themselves; whilst the Orange Lodges, with forms at least as illegal as those of the United Irishmen, and purposes as diabolical as those of the other were pure (!) and liberal, were encouraged by the government all over the country. To unite all sects and parties for the independence of Ireland was the *professed* object of the first; to support the exclusive privileges of the members of the Anglican church, and keep the rest of the nation in slavery for ever, of the second; and in opposing the principles of these two societies I have *selected those only* which were *openly avowed* by both bodies."* Mr. W. Tone is mistaken; there were no such things as Orange Lodges until

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 108.

1795; but from this quotation it will be seen that the societies still held back their real intentions, though Mr. W. Tone now, for the first time, is obliged to acknowledge that separation was one of them. A few lines further on he adds that the Irish leaders, and his father among the rest, naturally cast their eyes and hopes towards France. This, indeed, he could not any longer deny, as in the preceding page he gives an extract from his father's journal in these remarkable words—"Ten thousand French would accomplish a separation."

The United Irish Society continued to increase in defiance of the Convention Bill. Frequent attempts were made to induce the Defenders to join them, and many missions were undertaken for that purpose in this and the preceding year. Messrs. Tone, Keogh, M'Cormick, and Neilson went with that view into several of the northern counties, and met with considerable successes. Many persons of note, Protestants as well as Catholics, joined the society, among whom Mr. Grattan is named by Mr. Tone, upon the authority of James Napper Tandy.* Tone, in his journal of the 21st of July, 1792, speaking of the same gentleman, says—"We arrive at Grattan's, and tell him of the state of things in the north and in the south, *which he approves.*"† This visit was made immediately on Mr. Tone's return from his tour in the north.

In the beginning of the year 1794 the first direct

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 151. † Ibid, vol. i. p. 165.

overtures were made from the French to the United Irishmen. The Rev. William Jackson, who had long been a resident in France, was sent on a mission to arrange a plan for invading the country, and to obtain the most accurate information of the state of England and Ireland. In London he imprudently opened himself to Mr. Cockayne, an attorney, who immediately gave information of his mission to the British government. In the beginning of April he set out for Dublin in company with Cockayne, where he was introduced to Mr. Hamilton Rowan, then in Newgate, and by him to Mr. Tone and Dr. Reynolds. On giving them an account of the motives of his journey he prevailed on Tone to draw up a statement of what he conceived to be the wants and situation of Ireland, which he described as being altogether favourable to a French invasion.* Meantime government was minutely informed of every particular by Mr. Cockayne, and, sufficient evidence having been procured, Jackson was arrested on a charge of high treason on the 28th of April. Dr. Reynolds immediately fled to America, where he remained till his death. Mr. Hamilton Rowan contrived to escape from Newgate, and, notwithstanding 1500*l.* was offered for his apprehension, reached France in safety. Mr. Tone was deeply compromised; but, owing to the interference of the Honourable Marcus Beresford, Mr. George Knox, and Mr. Wolfe, afterwards Lord Kilwarden, the government

* For a copy of this statement, as given by Mr. Tone, see Appendix No. 8.

agreed to forego all prosecution against him, provided he would quit Ireland as soon as he could wind up his affairs. Jackson remained a year in prison, when he was tried and found guilty of high treason, but, having taken poison, he died in the dock before sentence was passed upon him.* Mr. Emmet tells us that "the arrest of Jackson and the publication of his designs conveyed no unwelcome information to the body of the Irish people, as from thence they derived the first authentic intelligence that their situation was an object of attention to France, and that they might at some future period receive assistance from that quarter."†

Towards the close of the year 1794 the test of the United Irish Societies underwent a change, not likely at the first view to excite attention or alarm in those required to take it, but the intention of which has since been made very apparent. Instead of the members binding themselves to use their abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation *in Parliament,* they were henceforward sworn to persevere in their endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland, omitting the words "in Parliament." This change was effected, as we learn from Dr. M'Nevin, in order to reconcile reformers and republicans, and because they had given up all idea

* He had been formerly the confidential friend and private secretary of the famous Duchess of Kingston, who was better known by the name of Miss Chudleigh.

† Pieces of Irish History, p. 88.

of reform, and were determined on republicanism.* Mr. Emmet also tells us that "it cannot be too forcibly impressed on the reflecting reader that this institution, from its very outset, looked towards a republican government, founded on the broadest principles of religious liberty and equal rights."† He says, in another place, "From the very outset of the new organization of the United Irish system, a French invasion was deemed by its members, if not absolutely necessary, at least very advisable, to the accomplishment of their objects."‡

The United Irishmen were now spreading with great rapidity in the counties of Down and Antrim. Men of all ranks, parties, and religions, joined the society, and numerous missions were undertaken to different parts of the north. But the most important accession to their numbers arose from the great success attending their overtures to the Defenders, who were very numerous in the province of Ulster. During the first three months of the year these men flocked in large bodies into the Union, which thus extended through the Catholic districts with such astonishing rapidity, that the organization of the province of Ulster was completed on the 10th of May, when the delegates from seventy-two societies met at Belfast. Shortly afterwards a Provincial Committee was organized, but, as by the constitution it was only to meet once a-month, it determined to form a body of directors for the whole

* Secret Report, Appendix No. 31.

† Pieces of Irish History, p. 91. ‡ Ibid. p. 118.

county, until such time as a National Committee should be appointed. This body, which was intended as a temporary expedient, and was not mentioned in the constitution, was called the executive. During the intervals between the meetings of the Provincial Committee, the executive was to execute whatever had been ordered, and to report its proceedings at the next meeting. It might also call extra meetings of the Provincial, if necessary. As its connexion was only with that Committee, its members were unknown to any but those who appointed them.*

On the 13th of June, 1795, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, in pursuance of the compromise made with the government, embarked at Belfast for America; but, before he went, he tells us that "he received secret instructions to follow up the negociations begun with Jackson;" and that he went, with his friend Russell, to Emmet's house at Rathfarnham, where he stated his intention of leaving his family in America, and of setting off instantly for Paris, for the purpose of applying, in the name of his country, for the assistance of the French. He adds, "It is unnecessary, I believe, to say that this plan met with the warmest approbation and support from both Russell and Emmet."† He says he also consulted M'Cormick and Keogh, and received, as he expected, their most cordial approbation; and they both laid their most positive injunctions upon him to leave nothing unattempted on his part to

* Pieces of Irish History, p. 131. † Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 125.

force his way to France, and lay the situation of Ireland before the government there.*

Neilson, Simms, M'Cracken, and C. G. Teeling, were likewise consulted, and they not only encouraged him in all respects with their perfect approbation, but joined him in taking a solemn obligation never to desist in their efforts until they had subverted the authority of England.†

Mr. Tone is borne out in these declarations by Mr. Emmet, who says, "Certain members of the Committee for the county of Antrim having cast their eyes upon Tone, consulted with confidential friends not actually in the organization, but with whom he had been in habits of unreserved communication. The result was, that after his arrival at Belfast, on his way to America, he was empowered by those persons, some of whom held the highest situations at that time in the system, to set forth to the French government, through its agent in America, the state of Ireland, and its dispositions." ‡

Here we find the leading men of the Union following up the plan which Mr. Tone declared to have been projected from the first formation of the Society; and we now find that their energy in the cause exceeded that of Mr. Tone himself. It seems probable that the latter, upon arriving in America, would have abandoned the scheme altogether, had he not been urged to proceed by his Irish connexions; for he now tells us,

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 127. † Ibid. p. 128.

‡ Pieces of Irish History, p. 129.

that, on his arrival at Philadelphia, he waited on Mr. Adet, the French minister, who received his communications in such a lukewarm way as to put an end to all his hopes; and, in consequence, he purchased a small estate near Princeton, in New Jersey, and hired a house for the winter, where he fitted up a study for himself, and began to think his lot was cast to be an American farmer, when he received letters from Keogh, Russell, and the two Simms, pressing him in the strongest manner to fulfil the engagement he had made with them at his departure, and to move heaven and earth to force his way to the French government, in order to supplicate their assistance.*

In one of these letters we find the following phrase: "Believe me, Tone, I am for no unnecessary procrastination. I think the hour is rapidly approaching—not the fixing a time, or saying 'When the crops are in, or the corn secured,' or any other definite time—but when we are prepared, let us embrace the first favourable moment that offers. A favourable speculation just now opens to our view. Twenty-five thousand men, of the best, are going to the West Indies. Their absence will doubtless make *provisions* plentier here." Another letter says, "As you will no doubt have to lay out a good deal of money before you are *settled* as you could *wish*, if you have occasion, draw on me at sixty days sight; your bill shall be duly honoured, and you may repay me at your convenience. I beg you will not be

* Life of Tone, vol. i. pp. 133 and 134.

backward in doing this, in case you find it at all necessary."

A third letter is still more pressing. After inquiring about the health of Mrs. Tone, the writer says, "Do you intend, like Cincinnatus and your greater Washington, to follow the plough, and, *like them, to quit it when your country calls?* A book has been published here on the *best mode for the defence of Ireland.* The writer appears to be a scientific military man; the work is full of French idioms. He points out the *west* as the most likely place for the enemy to land; stating, that the south-west winds would detain our fleets in the Channel, and permit a fleet from Brest to arrive here. He gives his opinion of the mode on which the enemy will proceed after landing, their route or march, dress for the armed peasantry, &c.: and although he advises the method to oppose an invading army, yet this work appears extraordinary for a friend of government at this time, when the country is agitated beyond all former example, and might be dangerous in the hands of the enemy. This author recommends *union;* otherwise, he asserts *all resistance vain,* in case of an invasion. I just now hear that this work is suppressed by government. I think they are right. Remember, dear Tone, the many hours we spent in the *garden,* in your favourite walk. That those *conversations* impress your mind as they do mine, I can never doubt. How often have we anticipated *your return* to your friends, to your country! I saw M'Cormick this day for some time; his wishes for your *return* fully *coincide* with *mine,* and

he thinks that it will not be your fault, and that you will omit nothing, consistent with your principles, for so fair and honourable an object. *Once more,* Tone, *remember,* and *execute* your *garden* conversation." *

Thus urged, Mr. Tone immediately made up his mind, quitted his family, and embarked for France, where he arrived on the 1st of February, 1796.

Although the civil organization of the society, as proposed in the constitution, was at this time complete in the province of Ulster only, yet the other provinces were not idle. Leinster was very forward; Munster was exerting herself with great success; and even in Connaught a considerable number of persons had taken the test. "Fourteen counties, including the entire north, were completely organized. In the remaining eighteen the organization was advancing rapidly, and it was so arranged that the inferiors obeyed their leaders without examining their orders, or even knowing who they were, as every one knew only the person immediately above him." † About the middle of the year a very important meeting took place, in consequence of a letter received from a member of one of the societies who had emigrated to France. At this meeting a general review was taken of the resources of the union, and, after long and serious deliberation, it was resolved to despatch an agent to the French Directory, commissioned to negociate for immediate assistance in order to effect a separation.

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 289, *et seq.*

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 137.

Through this agent they received assurances that succours should be sent as soon as an armament could be got ready. Meantime Mr. Tone was not idle: soon after his arrival in France he saw Carnot, to whom he introduced himself as acting under the direction, and with the concurrence, of the men who guided the Catholics and the Dissenters.* Shortly afterwards he was introduced to General Clarke, afterwards Duc de Feltre, and a few extracts from his conversation, as recorded by himself, will show the feelings and views of his party. Clarke mentioned the confusion and bloodshed likely to result from a people, such as he knew the Irish to be, breaking loose without proper heads to moderate and control their fury. Tone answered that it was but too true; that in the first explosion it was likely that many events would take place in their nature very shocking; that revolutions were not made without much individual suffering; that, however, supposing the worst, there would be a kind of retributive justice, as no body of men on earth were more tyrannical and oppressive in their nature than those who would be most likely to suffer in the event he alluded to; that he (Mr. Tone) had often in his own mind lamented the necessity, but that Ireland was so circumstanced that she had no alternative but unconditional submission to England, or a revolution with the chance of all the concomitant sufferings; and that he was one of those who preferred difficulty, and

* Life of Tone, vol. ii. p. 28.

danger, and distress, to slavery; especially when he saw clearly that there was no other means. "It is very true," replied Clarke, "there is no making an omelette without breaking of eggs." Clarke then asked what form of government would be likely to be established in Ireland in case of their success. Tone answered that he had no doubt whatever that a republic would be established; adding, that such was his own wish, and that of *all* the men with whom he co-operated; and further, that money to pay their debts of justice, honour, and gratitude, would be procured from the quantity of English property which would be forfeited to the state.*

In another conversation he says, "We neither love the English people in general, nor his Majesty's family in particular, so well as to choose one of them for our king, supposing, what is not the case, that the superstition of royalty yet hung about us. As to religion, we should content ourselves with pulling down the establishment without setting up any other. As to royalty and aristocracy, they are both odious in Ireland to that degree, that I apprehend much more a general massacre of the gentry, and a distribution of the entire of their property, than the establishment of any form of government that could perpetuate their influence. I hope that massacre will not happen, and I, for one, would do all that lay in my power to prevent it, because I do not like to spill the blood even of the

* Life of Tone, vol. ii. pp. 50, 57, and 128.

guilty; at the same time the pride, cruelty, and oppression of the Irish aristocracy are so great, that I apprehend every excess from the just resentment of the people."* Unfortunately Mr. Tone's views were not always so humane, for in another place he says, "The Irish aristocracy are putting themselves in a state of nature with the people, and let them take the consequences: they show no mercy, and they deserve none. If ever I have the power, I will most heartily concur in making them a *dreadful example.*" †

These extracts clearly show what the views and designs of the party were at that time, and one of the principle means proposed to be used for carrying them into effect was the aid of a French army. This point was urged with such zeal and ability by Mr. Tone, that after some months' delay the French Directory resolved to send fifteen thousand men and a vast quantity of arms and ammunition to Ireland, and to land in England a band of desperadoes, to the number of eighteen hundred, of the most execrable ruffians that France could supply, under the orders of Colonel Tate, to effect a diversion. Colonel Tate's instructions were written by Tone, who says: "I transcribed with the greatest *sang froid* the orders to reduce to ashes the third city of the British dominions, in which there is property to the amount perhaps of 5,000,000*l.* I cannot but remark what misery the execution of the orders which I have transcribed and assisted in fram-

* Life of Tone, vol. ii. p. 161. † Ibid., vol. ii. p. 89.

ing may produce, and how quietly Colonel Shee and myself sat by the fire discussing how we might do the greatest possible mischief to the unfortunate wretches on whom our plans are intended to operate. The conflagration of such a city as Bristol!—it is no slight affair! Thousands and thousands of families, if the attempt succeeds, will be reduced to beggary. The truth is, I hate the very name of England; I hated her before my exile, I hate her since, and I will hate her always."*

While Mr. Tone was thus negociating in France, the leaders of the United Irishmen issued directions to the societies to form themselves into military bodies, and to arm themselves as well as they could, with a view of being prepared to co-operate with the expected invaders. The directions were speedily obeyed, and a military organization was thus established. The secretary of the Simple Society, which usually consisted of twelve persons, was the petty officer; the delegate from one of the five societies, whose officers composed the baronial committee, was a captain, who thus commanded sixty men; and one of the delegates from the baronial to the district committee, or from the lower to the upper baronial, when the population required such an intermediate step, was the colonel, who usually commanded six hundred men. Thus all the officers, as high as a colonel, were elected by those whom they commanded. The higher commissions were appointed

* Life of Tone, vol. ii. pp. 240, 241.

by the executive. The colonels sent in the names of three persons whom they considered fit to act as adjutant-generals, and of those the executive chose one. It was the duty of the adjutant-general to receive and transmit all military orders from the executive to the colonels; they were required also to report the state of the regiments within their respective districts, and in general to act as staff-officers. Orders were given that every one who had the means should furnish himself with fire-arms and ammunition, and such as could not afford it should at least supply themselves with pikes. This organization was completed in the province of Ulster in the autumn of 1796, at which time the association counted one hundred thousand men enrolled in that province alone.*

Meantime these proceedings did not escape the vigilance of the government. In the summer of 1796 the legislature, finding that the existing laws were totally inadequate to stop the progress of the conspiracy, conceded new powers to the executive administration. A temporary act of Parliament, called the Insurrection Act, was passed, which empowered the lord lieutenant and council, upon the requisition of seven magistrates of any county assembled at a sessions of the peace, to proclaim the whole or any part of such county to be in a state of disturbance, and thereby to give the magistrates an extraordinary power of seizing, imprisoning, or sending on board his Majesty's fleet, such

* Secret Report, p. 5.

persons as should be found at unlawful assemblies, or in any way threatening the public peace. This act was more particularly levelled against the Defenders of the counties of Roscommon, Longford, Leitrim, Meath, Westmeath, and Kildare, who had latterly been very active in attacking the houses of the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants during the night, under pretence of seeking for arms, and who in those nocturnal visits were too often guilty of robbery and murder.

In the month of October following, bills were passed, suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and establishing a yeomanry force. Many gentlemen and persons in respectable situations in life were arrested and thrown into prison on suspicion of being engaged in conspiracy; and at the same time several districts in the north were proclaimed, and numbers of the lower orders sent on board the British navy. But all these measures only incensed, without checking the United Irishmen. They now, like the Defenders, began to assemble in large bodies in the night; and, in order to procure arms, they disarmed those who were reputed to be the adherents of government. Under pretence of saving the produce of the soil for their friends in prison, they adopted the practice of meeting in very large parties, often to the number of several thousands, in something like military order, preceded by bands of music, and thus proceeding in the daytime to dig out the potatoes or reap the corn of their friends. At other times funerals or foot-ball parties served as a pretext for similar assemblies; but it was evident that their real object was to accustom

the men to a readiness in repairing to appointed places, to give confidence to their own party by displaying their strength, and to terrify the well-disposed and peaceable inhabitants.

The establishment of the yeomanry was a most salutary measure. The estimate laid before Parliament was for 20,000 men; but in the course of six months 37,000 men were arrayed, and afterwards they increased to upwards of 50,000.* These men performed the greatest services during the troubles, sharing all the hardships and dangers, and performing all the duties, as zealously as the regular forces. The most active system of terror was employed to deter the well-affected from joining the yeomanry, and to render the administration of justice ineffectual. Persons enrolled as yeomen, magistrates, jurors, witnesses, and, in short, all who ventured to support the laws, became objects of the most cruel persecution in their properties, their persons, and even their lives; and many were compelled to take the oaths of United Irishmen as the only means of personal security, while subscriptions were raised for the purpose of assisting the families of the imprisoned conspirators, of bribing witnesses in the trials, and of feeing the most eminent counsel.

About the time these measures were put in force by the government, a messenger arrived from France, who informed the leaders of the United Irishmen of the intention of the French to invade the country speedily

* Secret Report, p. 7.

with 15,000 men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition; but he neither mentioned the precise time nor the place.* Shortly after his departure a letter arrived from a quarter in which great confidence was placed, stating that the invasion would take place positively in the spring following. In consequence of these contradictory advices, when the armament arrived in Bantry Bay in the following December, the United Irishmen were altogether unprepared for their reception, so that, if the small force which hovered so long off the coast had landed, they would in all probability have met with little or no success.†

In the course of the year 1796 the society of United Irishmen assumed altogether a very different character, especially in the province of Ulster. They became a regular banditti, a society of assassins and robbers. As we have already seen, their leaders had for two or three years used all their endeavours to effect a union between their party and the Defenders. This was now very generally effected; but the result was not exactly what those leaders had intended. The United Irishmen gained a vast accession of strength; but, as the Defenders now formed the great majority, instead of becoming United Irishmen, they induced the mass of the United Irishmen to become Defenders in principle, in practice, in short, in everything except in name. Their conduct gave a severe check to their cause. Their depredations, their

* Pieces of Irish History, p. 223.

† For a particular account of this Expedition, see vol ii. of Tone's Life by his Son.

robberies, their burnings, and their murders, proved that the people of Ireland, or rather of Ulster, had indeed imbibed "the spirit of the French mob." Mr. Thomas Moore, who has so often laboured to throw a veil of romantic interest over the United Irish Society, is compelled to acknowledge this fact, which he thus endeavours to slur over:—"Wherever the bulk of the population were Catholics, the Defenders formed the chief part of the United force, or rather in such places the system of the union degenerated into Defenderism, assuming that character which a people, lawless from having been so long outlawed, might have been expected to give it. Hence those outrages and crimes which, perpetrated under the name of United Irishmen, brought disgrace upon the cause, and alarmed more especially its Presbyterian supporters, who, not without reason, shrunk from the hazard of committing the interests of the cause of civil and religious liberty to such hands. Under this impression it was that the leading United Irishmen of the counties of Down and Antrim were anxious to inculcate the notion that the Presbyterians could dispense with Catholic aid; and so much had the repugnance of the two sects to act in concert manifested itself, that at a meeting of captains on the 31st of July at Downpatrick strong fears were expressed that the Dissenters and Catholics would become two separate bodies."*

The government at last found it necessary to use

* Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 7.

more vigorous measures in suppressing the disturbances. Mr. Pelham (afterwards the Earl of Chichester) accordingly addressed a letter to General Lake, who commanded the troops in the northern districts, in which, after setting forth the outrages committed by the United Irishmen in those parts, he authorized the general to use such means as his own discretion should point out, in order to disarm the population, and to stop the insurrectionary spirit. General Lake accordingly issued a proclamation on the 13th of March, enjoining all persons to surrender their arms and ammunition, promising secrecy to those who would give information, and rewards to the full value of such arms as they discovered. The troops were also so stationed as to prevent all unlawful assemblies; and all persons found abroad after a certain hour at night were liable to arrest and punishment.

The result of this proclamation being comparatively small, and government having been informed that an insurrection was to take place before the end of June, additional orders were given to General Lake and Lord Carhampton, and the country was placed under martial law. Many houses in which arms were suspected to be concealed were burnt to the ground, or pulled down; and many persons were flogged, or picketed, or otherwise tortured, with a view of forcing them to discover.

This mode of proceeding continued till the month of July, and, with the exception of a partial rising which took place near the mountains in the county of Down, the intended insurrection was quelled. Arms of

different descriptions, to the amount of 129,000, were collected throughout the province; all outrage ceased, public confidence was once more restored, and from the month of July military interference was generally discontinued.

In August, 1797, a new organization of the Society of United Irishmen took place; the principal change effected was in the Simple Societies, which were now restricted to twelve persons at most, as nearly as possible of the same neighbourhood, so that they might be mutually under the inspection one of another; and in the directory or executive, which before appears to have been a temporary expedient, but which was henceforth to have the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole association. It was limited to five persons, to be named by the four secretaries of the national committees, to whom alone they were known. In other respects the different committees remained much in their previous state.

Meanwhile the leaders were actively engaged in endeavouring to extend the association in Connaught and Munster. Numerous emissaries were sent into those provinces, with instructions to work on the passions and prejudices of the lower orders. They were told that by a revolution they would obtain universal suffrage and equal rights, by means of which their condition would be greatly improved.

In Waterford and Cork the tithe-question was successfully agitated; and it is not a little remarkable, that, as this had been the pretext for the Whiteboy asso-

ciation, so the ancient practice of burning the corn and houghing the cattle of persons obnoxious to them was again resorted to.

In a short time the emissaries so wrought on the people, by these and similar means, that they joined the United Irishmen in considerable numbers, and in a few months the effect was shown in Munster and Connaught by the introduction of enormities similar to those which had been practised in the north.

Another mode put in practice to increase the popular discontent was the most scandalous abuse of the public press. In the summer of 1797 an infamous paper, called the "Union Star," was privately printed and circulated, recommending insurrection and assassination in plain terms, and describing by name those persons whose loyalty and conscientious discharge of their duty rendered them fit objects for the murderer's knife. This paper appeared at irregular intervals, and was printed on one side only, to fit it for being pasted on walls. Each number began with the following words: "As the 'Union Star' is an official paper, the managers promise the public that no character shall be hazarded but such as are denounced by authority as being the partners and creatures of Pitt and his sanguinary journeyman Luttrell."

"The 'Star' offers to public justice the following detestable traitors as spies and perjured informers."

"Perhaps some arm, more lucky than the rest, may reach his heart, and free the world from bondage."

Then followed the lists of proscription, which con-

sisted of the names of persons supposed to have been informers against the United Irishmen, or active opposers of their designs. The rest of the sheet was filled with furious exhortations to the populace to rise and take vengeance on their oppressors. The following extracts may serve as a specimen of the atrocity of this paper :—

" Let the indignation of man be raised against the impious wretch who profanely assumes the title of reigning by the grace of God, and impudently tells the world he can do no wrong. Irishmen ! is granting a patent and offering premiums to murderers to depopulate your country and take your properties no wrong ? Is taking part of the spoil no wrong ? Is the foreign despot incapable of wrong, who sharpens the sword that deprives you of life, and exposes your children to poverty and all its consequent calamities ? Oh, man ! or rather less ; oh, king ! will the smothered groans of my countrymen, who in thy name fill the innumerable dungeons you have made, for asserting the rights of man, be considered no wrong ? Will enlightened Irishmen believe you incapable of wrong who offer up the most amiable of mankind daily on the scaffold or the gibbet to thy insatiable ambition ? Is burning the villages of what you call your people, and shooting the trembling sufferers, no wrong ? Is taking the church into partnership, and encouraging its idle and voluptuous drones to despoil industry of its reward, and teach a lying doctrine to sanction their injustice, no wrong ? Are the continual wars you engender and provoke to destroy mankind no wrong ? Go, impious blasphemer, and your hypocritical

sorcerers, to the fate philosophy, justice, and liberty consign thee. It is inevitable; thy impositions are detected: thy kind have been brought to justice. The first possessor of thy trade has recently bled for the crimes of the craft; his idle and vile followers, who escaped the national axe, are walking memorials of justice, begging a miserable livelihood over those countries whose tottering thrones encourage but an uncertain asylum. Ere the grave, which is opening for thy despised person, embosoms thee, make one atonement for the vices of thy predecessors; resist not the claims of a people reduced to every misery: in thy name give back the properties that thy nation wrested from a suffering people, and let the descendants of those English ruffians restore to Irishmen their country, and to their country liberty. 'Tis rather late to trifle—one fortunate breeze may do it, and then woe be to him who was a tyrant, or who is unjust!"

In another number we find the following insidious defence of assassination :—

"Though we are not advocates for assassination, we know, on the authority of history, that assassination preserved the liberties, and rescued many of the ancient republics from the power of aspiring villains, who raised themselves on the neck of the people, and on the ruins of liberty. 'Twas a positive law in Corinth, Rome, Athens, Syracuse, &c., that any citizen was justified, and should be rewarded and honoured as the deliverer of his country, who would assassinate any villain aspiring

to the sovereign power, or infringing the rights of the people. We certainly do not advise, though we do not decry, assassination, as we conceive it is the only mode at present within the reach of Irishmen to bring to justice the royal agents, who are constantly exercising rapes, murders, and burnings through our devoted country. We appeal to thy noble and venerated name, oh Brutus! who bravely assassinated the tyrant of your country amidst his cohorts, and in the presence of his pensioned senate. It is not our solitary suffrage that has attempted to honour thy name, and worship thy spirit. The patriot, the sage, and the hero, in every honourable state of life, for eighteen centuries, have given thy name the first and most unequivocal recommendation to the admiring earth, as one that deserves the highest rank among the benefactors of the human race."

"Yes, prince of patriotic assassins, thy noble and virtuous spirit should pervade our land: the infant, whom a British, or a British-Irish, butcher has left fatherless, should be taught, through his progress to manhood, that thy example should be rigidly imitated, as an honest duty to his parents and his country. The Irish seaman, maimed in the service of his country's tyrant, whose banners he often led to victory at the same moment when his aged mother lived to see her daughter violated by a horrid soldiery who had mingled the ashes of her husband with those of their humble habitation—in such a son assassination would be a holy duty, commanded

by nature, and approved of by Heaven! Thus we defend assassination, and clear it from the rubbish of ignorance, and the falsehood of despotism, which were too often successful in confounding the characters of the man who destroyed a tyrant, and him who, to gratify private revenge, or urged by avarice, might sell himself to murder an innocent fellow-creature."

Will future ages believe that even Jacobinism itself could produce such a publication? yet such was the then unhappy state of the country that people ran in crowds to read and applaud it.

Another paper was established towards the close of the year, called the 'Press.'* This journal was published under the name of Mr. Arthur O'Connor, as proprietor. It was conducted in a superior style, and with less violence than the 'Union Star;' but its columns were filled with every species of misrepresentation and sophistry which could tend to vilify the government—to extend the Union—to shake the connexion with Great Britain—to induce the people to look to French assistance—to exaggerate the numbers and force of the disaffected, and systematically to degrade the administration of justice in all its departments. It was distributed throughout all parts of the kingdom, and from the activity of its partisans, had immediately a more extensive circulation than any other paper.

One or two extracts may suffice to show the spirit in which this journal was conducted.

* This is the paper to which Mr. Moore boasts of having contributed some of the worst articles.

No. 18.—*November* 7, 1797.

"To the People of Ireland—

"For shame! for shame! what are you afraid of? The minister is as timid as he is insolent; your patience has made him haughty; your forgiveness will make him fearful; but if the time of recovering your liberties is gone by, if your doom of servitude is sealed, if you are to be slaves, at least forge not your own fetters, nor fit them with your own hands. Let them be forced upon you, and let Europe see that you do not wear them with willingness and ease. Remember that though life is precious, liberty is the gem that gives life its lustre. Assert your rights—demand the constitution of your forefathers—let not the blood of Hampden, Sidney, and Russell have flowed in vain. Recommend yourselves to God, and, if necessary, in defence of liberty, *die in the last ditch.*

No. 23.—*November* 18, 1797.

"Should those desperate Frenchmen be inclined to approach our shores, as they have threatened this season, and not meeting Commodore Winter in the same blustering temper, should they chance to effect a landing, there can be no manner of doubt but the peasantry of the country, considering the signal gratitude of the legislature and government shown to them for their former loyalty and promptitude in the national defence, would rise *en masse*, and meet the enemy *in open arms.*"

No. 29.—*December* 2, 1797.

"To the Students of Trinity College—

"You, my fellow-students, have explored the page of history, where the insect courtier is forgotten, the despot is blasted in infamy, *and the glorious tyrannicide is immortalized.* Can you remember one instance of a people naturally brave, and wanting but the will to be illustrious, succumbing to the domination of their own servants, their minions, and passively agonizing under the extremities of oppression? No! Ireland is singular in suffering and in cowardice. She could crush her tormentors, and yet they embowel her; she could be free, and yet she is a slave."*

The effect of these inflammatory publications was soon manifested by the great number of the peasantry, especially in the middle and southern counties, who joined the United Irishmen; and the Irish Parliament, with a view to check the evil, passed an act which narrowly circumscribed the liberty of the press. Recourse was then had to another mode of publication: handbills were privately printed and dispersed through the country. One of these strongly advised the lower orders to abstain from all spirituous liquors, with the two-fold view of injuring the public revenue, and of preserving their own health. A second was a caution against the purchase of the quit-rents of the crown, which were to

* For other extracts from these two papers, see the Appendix, No. 9.

be sold for the raising of supplies. A third was a recommendation to all persons to refuse bank-notes, or paper-money in their ordinary dealings. Others were distributed largely among the soldiers and militia, in order, if possible, to seduce them from their allegiance.* On the other hand, government punished such persons as they suspected to be United Irishmen by quartering soldiers on them, and injuring them seriously in their property. But these severe measures only tended to increase the animosity of the conspirators, insomuch that in the course of the autumn and winter of 1797, the peasantry, in the midland and southern counties, were generally sworn, and ripe for insurrection.†

During this year the negociations with France were carried on vigorously. A confidential agent left London in March, and remained in Paris as accredited by the Irish Union to the French Directory. He was ably seconded by Mr. Tone; and at the end of June, Dr. M'Nevin was sent with orders to press the French government, with redoubled earnestness, for immediate aid. In consequence of these negociations, an army of 15,000 men was embarked in a Dutch Fleet at the Texel, under the command of General Daendells; but the fear of the British navy occasioned a sudden disembarkation of the troops, and the armament having put to sea was totally defeated, on the 11th of October, by Lord Viscount Duncan.

* See App. No. 10. † Secret Report, p. 13.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Reynolds is chosen a Member of the Catholic Convention—Retires with Lord Fingall—Re-elected for the City of Dublin in the Convention of 1792—Becomes a United Irishman—Soon ceases to attend the Meetings—Lord Edward Fitzgerald induces him to accept the office of Colonel of a Rebel Regiment—He becomes a Member of the Leinster Provincial Committee—The real Designs of the United Irishmen first revealed to him—He determines to abandon the Society—Dreadful state of the Country—Neilson attempts to murder Mr. Reynolds—Messrs. Howell and Curran's Version of that Attempt—Mr. Reynolds opens his mind to Mr. Cope—Refuses all offers of Rewards, and gives information of the Meeting at Oliver Bond's—Arrests of the 12th March—Mr. Reynolds resigns his Offices in the Society—The United Irishmen attempt to assassinate him—The King's Troops take possession of Kilkea Castle—Free Quartering—Wanton Destruction of Property.

1797 to 1798.

CONNECTED by affinity and alliance with all the great Catholic, and many of the great Protestant families in Ireland, my grandfather had been a member of the Catholic Committee from his early years until his death in 1788; my father was then chosen to replace him, and he continued a member of it until the violent expulsion of the Earl of Fingall, when he retired with other members of his family, among the sixty-four who on that occasion withdrew from the committee.

He was, however, chosen as one of the persons to

represent the city of Dublin in the Convention of 1792; and he continued a member of that body until its dispersion, after having obtained the passing of the Catholic relief bill.

Thus early pushed forward in politics, and impressed with a deep interest in the religious emancipation of his countrymen, it is not surprising that on the dispersion of the body which had prosecuted their claims with success, he felt little hesitation in becoming a member of an association which professed complete Catholic emancipation to be its first object, and, without much difficulty, in January or February 1797, he yielded to the solicitation of some friends, as already stated, and consented to join the United Irishmen. He was sworn in by Oliver Bond, at his house in Bridge-street.* When he joined the association, he knew no more of its designs than it had pleased the leaders to publish, and was implied in the oath he took. It is true that he soon discovered that more was meant than had been expressed in that oath; but he heard so little, and that little so vaguely, that he regarded all the plans and projects hinted at as wild and ridiculous schemes.

* Mr. Plowden tells us that "so little was that bond of union considered treasonable in 1797, that at the Armagh assizes, when the spirit and tendency of it were brought before the court on the trial of Hanlon and Nogher, who were charged with having tendered an unlawful oath or engagement to become one of an unlawful, wicked, and seditious society, called United Irishmen, the prisoners were acquitted. The counsel not only defended, but commended the institution; the judge thought the obligation illegal under the late act of Parliament."—See 'Plowden's History of Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 394.

As Catholic emancipation and reform in Parliament were not the objects of this association, but, as I have already clearly proved, merely pretexts to decoy others, and to cover their guilty projects, so those projects remained concealed in the Directory, or were confidentially intrusted to but few individuals of the superior committees. My father was consecutively a member of the Simple Society, and of the Baronial Committee, and during about two months he regularly attended their meetings; but from the very trifling information which reached those lower societies, to which alone he had access, he did not form any very sanguine hopes of further relief from their union; and, having come into possession of the castle and lands of Kilkea, which he was preparing for the future residence of his family, his attention was withdrawn from politics, and his attendance on the association totally ceased with his change of residence.

In the month of November, 1797, as he was walking in the streets of Dublin, he met Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in company with one Hugh Wilson, on the steps of the Four Courts. Lord Edward's absence in America with his regiment, and his subsequent residence upon the Continent, during which he had married the natural daughter of the Duke of Orleans, had prevented that acquaintance between his lordship and my father which had grown up between my father and the other members of the Leinster family, previous to his marriage in 1794. Lord Edward accosted my father, and told him that he wished to speak to him on very particular busi-

ness. My father replied that he would be happy to see his lordship at his house in Park-street; and accordingly, next day, Lord Edward called, and said the object of his visit was to request him to act in his (Lord Edward's) stead, in the United Irish Society, in the county in which Mr. Reynolds was establishing his residence, as his own inconsiderate activity had drawn on him the suspicions of government, and he wished to withdraw himself for a time.

During the interval between my father's ceasing to frequent the society and Lord Edward's application to him, the directory had completed the military organization of the county of Kildare, and Lord Edward had accepted the appointment of Colonel for the barony of Kilkea and Moone; and this was the office which he requested my father to hold for him.

The animosities arising out of opposite political interests were nowhere more rancorously kept alive than in the county of Kildare, where the Duke of Leinster's influence, formerly unbounded, had recently been so successfully opposed, as to deprive him of the nomination of one of the county members. My father's family connexions being related to and descended from the same stock as the Duke of Leinster, supported with all their means the interest of him whom they considered as their chief. They held his enemies as theirs, they rejoiced in his prosperity, they resented any injury done to him, as if it had been done to themselves, and any wish or desire of his to them carried a commanding influence; so that when his brother,

Lord Edward, repeated and pressed his wishes, it was very difficult for my father to refuse, however unwilling he felt to renew his connexion with the association. He gave, therefore, a very reluctant assent to Lord Edward's request. His Lordship assured my father that his appointment should be but temporary, he himself intending very shortly to resume his situation; and in order to avoid exposing my father unnecessarily to men whom he did not know, and with whom he must have frequently associated, had he gone in the usual manner through the simple societies, Lord Edward promised to arrange all matters relative to his appointment with one Matthew Kennaa, of whom my father had no knowledge, but in whom Lord Edward said *he* had the greatest confidence, and who, he also said, should call on my father at Kilkea, and arrange the business without exposure, trouble, or inconvenience to him.

Shortly after this visit, while my father was in a very undecided state of mind, as to Lord Edward's request, he met Mr. Oliver Bond standing on the steps of his own house in Bridge-street, to whom he mentioned the circumstance, and his reluctance to comply with the proposal. Mr. Bond earnestly requested him to accept the appointment, and used every argument to induce him to do so, till at last my father, finding that he had no pretence for refusing, which his friends would consider valid, and that he would only disoblige them by so doing, gave a very unwilling assent. He heard no more of the matter, nor had he

seen Lord Edward again, when Kennaa called on him at Kilkea, for the first time, in the month of January in the following year, and informed him that there would shortly be a meeting of the captains of the district, at which, agreably to Lord Edward's wish, he was to be chosen colonel; which was accordingly done; but my father did not attend the meeting, nor did he know any one of the captains, even by name, except Kennaa, who said they were twelve in number, commanding two thousand three hundred men.

On the 14th of February, Kennaa called on my father again, to acquaint him that a county committee meeting would be held on the 18th, at a place called the Nineteen-mile-house, which was about half way between Kilkea Castle and Dublin, and that he was expected to attend there in order to fulfil Lord Edward's engagements, and to receive the appointment of county treasurer, to entitle him to go up to the provincial committee. He accordingly did attend at that meeting, and was there elected treasurer for the county instead of Lord Edward. I would here observe, that when my father assented to Lord Edward's request, he was not aware that he would be called upon to hold any office, save that of colonel.

The only business done at that meeting was his election, and the re-appointment of a Mr. Cummins as secretary, and of a Mr. Daly as delegate for the ensuing three months, which posts they had occupied during the past quarter. The officers appeared before their constituents at the expiration of every quarter, when

they were re-appointed or superseded, according to circumstances. The rules of the association did not permit Cummins or Daly to mention in the county committee what they had learned in the provincial, any further than they had previous orders from the provincial to reveal; but they of course considered it necessary to be more explicit with my father, as he was now to meet the provincial as treasurer. Therefore after the meeting had broken up, they took him aside and informed him that the provincial was to meet next day, the 19th, at ten o'clock, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, in Dublin; that Bond was not a member of the Leinster provincial, but that a Mr. MacCan, who was chief clerk to Mr. Bond's brother-in-law, Jackson, the iron-founder, would attend and conduct the proceedings as agent for the directory, and secretary to the provincial committee; and by way of preparing my father for the business, which was to be discussed in the provincial, they then disclosed to him, for the first time, that all was prepared for an immediate insurrection, which only awaited the arrival of a military force daily expected from France, and that orders had gone from the directory, through the committees, for the people to exert themselves in every way to possess themselves of arms, and ammunition, and to deprive their enemies of them; and that one of the signals for open rebellion, and the first step to be taken to ensure success, was to deprive the executive government of its principal active leaders, by the assassination of about eighty individuals, of whose names Mr. Cum-

mins showed my father a list. They were principally members of the administration—prelates—noblemen—and gentlemen, remarkable for their attachment to government, and some of them my father's and mother's own relations. Means had been taken to place in the service of these persons, United Irishmen, if their servants were not already members of that association, who only waited the final orders to strike the blow, which was to be done on the eve of the insurrection.

The Earl Camden, who was then Lord Lieutenant, was to be seized by the Dublin conspirators, and if possible, held alive as a hostage, but in case of extreme resistance, HE was not to be spared. This list was among the papers to have been produced on the trial of Cummins, which was to have succeeded Oliver Bond's conviction, had not the confessions of the conspirators induced His Majesty's Government to stop the prosecutions, as will be seen in the sequel, but several copies of it were subsequently handed about.

Mr. Gifford, in his life of Mr. Pitt, thus speaks of this diabolical project:—"Every thing was now ripe for that explosion which the government had so long expected to take place, and its dreadful precursors, outrage and murder, proclaimed its near approach. The whole diabolical plan was formed with systematic precision. The French model had been so far followed, that no mean scruples of delicacy, no unmanly feelings of remorse, were suffered to interpose the slightest obstacle to the full accomplishment of the murderous project. All the members of the government,

and the major part of the two houses of parliament, with all those loyal persons who had displayed their zeal in defence of the establishment in church and state, were included in the bloody roll of proscription."*

The feelings of every honest man will best enable him to conceive what my father's were on this disclosure. Zealous for complete Catholic emancipation, he would have made the greatest personal sacrifices to have obtained that object, which alone brought him into communication with the United Irishmen, but to wade to it through a sea of blood, to become a cowardly

* See Gifford's Life of Pitt, vol. v. page 443.

Upon the arrest and dispersion of the provincial committee, on the 12th of March, 1798, two brothers named Sheares were elected to fill the places of absent members, and immediately became the most active leaders of the society. These men were betrayed into the hands of government by a captain Armstrong, who was encouraged to ingratiate himself with them, and to worm out their designs. He was introduced to them on the 10th of May, 1798, and a few days afterwards they informed him that "on the night of the rising in Dublin, the Lord Lieutenant was to be seized, and all the Privy Council, separately in their own houses." In the previous year (1797) a secret committee of the House of Lords reported that "it has also appeared to your committee, that in the event of success on the part of these conspirators (the United Irishmen), it has been decided that all persons, who from their principles, or situation may be deemed inimical to the conspiracy, shall be massacred." The members of the Executive, who were afterwards examined before the Privy Council, denied that they meant to spill the blood of those who were opposed to them, but they admitted that they intended to have the members of the Government and Privy Council arrested in their houses. Some individuals may have been less bloodthirsty than others, but history has more than once proved the impossibility of restraining the violent passions of a mob in the moment of victory. The prisons of kings are the ante-chambers to their graves; the prisons of ministers and privy councillors, in revolutionary moments, are their very graves!

assassin, a midnight murderer to obtain it, was impossible.

It may be said that the returns of arms which from the first had in every committee generally accompanied the list of the members, and the statement of the funds of the association, and more especially the organization of the armed force, in which he had so lately accepted the rank of colonel, should have told him that violence was intended, though perhaps not assassination.

I have already shown that similar armed national bodies were neither new nor unfrequent in Ireland. The striking example of Dungannon was still fresh in men's minds, where the authority of an armed force was recognised, and almost authorised by Parliament, and certainly was supported by all that was loyal and honourable in Ireland. The still more recent example of the Roman Catholic Convention, when, although no arms were used, the Irish people showed themselves in force, treated their Parliament and governors with contempt, sent their most violent demagogues as delegates to the foot of the throne, after parading them through the whole empire, and obtained such concessions as, in many respects, placed the Irish Roman Catholic on a footing with the Protestant, while the Roman Catholics of England remained subject to all the former restrictions: these examples were held forth, and the conviction remains to this day, that the Government will grant to force what it refuses to justice. The concessions of 1829 will, I fear, not tend to weaken this sentiment in Ireland. It is reasonable to believe

that the same individuals who acted so successfully at Dungannon, and in the Convention, would not be unwilling, for the third time, to place the country in such an imposing attitude as should, in like manner, command compliance with what they considered to be their just demands; and that too at a moment when the exigencies of the British Government rendered success still less improbable. It is not unreasonable to suppose that such feelings operated upon the minds of many honourable, upright, and loyal men, whose names were more or less compromised in the association, to induce them incautiously to lend their apparent sanction to it. But there was another, a powerful and a personal motive, which worked on the fears, the bigotry, the revenge, and all the passions which party animosity had so fatally excited in Ireland.

The Roman Catholics still were, and all the Protestant dissenters had until lately been, by law excluded, as we have already seen, from all places of trust and emolument, as well as from the patronage of the bar, the army, and the church. The Protestants of the Established Church who might fill these employments did not amount to a twentieth of the whole population, so that the majority of those Protestants were in employ of some sort. Though ignorant of its real formation, they were aware that a secret society did exist, whose views were hostile to their monopoly; and knowing that the Roman Catholics were discontented, these persons gratuitously pronounced the Society of United Irishmen to be a popish conspiracy to destroy the Pro-

testants, similar to that which, in 1641, had taken place under the guidance of Lord Maquire, Sir Phelim O'Neale, and Roger Moore. They adduced the massacre of Barclay's family at Forkhill, and other enormities, committed by the Defenders, in their feud against the Peep-o'-day Boys, as proofs of the existing rancour of the Papists; and, led on by some zealous and perhaps well-meaning persons, towards the end of the year 1795 they formed a counter-association, and called themselves Orangemen, in allusion to King William, Prince of Orange.

The party broils between the Orangemen and the Roman Catholics had for some time been carried to the most indecent and violent extremes, disturbing and disuniting the nearest connexions, invading the peace of private families, and even poisoning those convivial meetings so congenial to the Irish character. The first toast usually given after every entertainment by the triumphant party was, "The glorious and immortal memory of King William, and down with popery and slavery:" while the opposite party, with equal fervour, and perhaps with more bitterness, toasted, "The memory of the sorrel horse which broke King William's neck."

The title of Orangemen, adopted by this Protestant Association, was therefore considered by the Roman Catholics as an insulting declaration of open war.

The leaders of the United Irishmen did not fail to take advantage of that circumstance to rouse the Roman Catholics, by terror and resentment, into a preparation

for hostility, which those leaders might use in due time for their own purposes. Dreadful accounts were invented and circulated concerning the views of the Orangemen, who were said to have sworn, among other horrors, to wade knee-deep, and ride to the saddle-skirts, in popish blood. The more to impress this idea, papers were printed, purporting to be Orange oaths to that effect, and distributed through the United Irish Committees; and reports were circulated from time to time of intended nocturnal massacres of the Catholics. So impressed were the people with the truth of these reports, and so terrified were they in consequence, that in many entire districts the Roman Catholic people abandoned their habitations in the evening, and slept in ditches or the open fields. And, unfortunately—for I will not say it was with evil design—an ignorant, bigoted, ill-advised Pastoral Letter from Dr. Hussey, titular or Roman Bishop of Waterford, seconded the views of the leaders, and stamped their rumours with the seal of religious confirmation, by attributing to Protestants, whom it stigmatised as accursed beings, such schemes and intentions against the civil and religious welfare of the Roman Catholics, as encouraged and fomented all the fears and bigotry which had been created or awakened by the arts of the leaders, and caused the great body of the United Irishmen eagerly to arm in their own defence. These various causes combined to reconcile the members of the Association to military organization, and prevented too minute inquiries into the ulterior views of the directory, until

the leaders should themselves think proper to avow them. But the list of proscription, and other matters, now for the first time laid open to my father, spoke their real intentions in a language not to be misunderstood.

What was he to do? To denounce the men who had opened their secrets to him was repugnant to every feeling—to suffer matters to take their course was to make himself an accomplice in their crimes—to quit the Association was to offer himself and his family to the knife of the murderer.

The Provincial Committee, of which he had a few moments before become a member, was to meet in Dublin the next day, the 19th of February. There was very little time for deliberation: he resolved, at all events, not to take another step with these men until he should have ascertained the truth or falsity of what he had heard. He therefore sent by the post, from the house he was in, an excuse to the Provincial Committee, addressed to Oliver Bond, for John M'Cann, grounded on the shortness of time, the distance, and the urgency of his own private affairs. He was fully aware that, by declining to attend so important a meeting, he was likely to be looked upon with jealousy; but it was not to be avoided. He returned to Kilkea, oppressed, alarmed, unable to doubt, and fearing to credit, what had been told him; yet, when he looked around through the country, everything confirmed the truth of it, and showed him that disorders, which had hitherto appeared the effect of insubordination among

the labouring classes, were in reality the results of a plan concerted by the leaders of the United Irish Association, of a very different complexion from anything he had hitherto been led to believe. All tended to riot and confusion. Murders and robberies were committed night and day; few men dared to venture from their homes, and these homes were converted into fortresses—the entrances and lower windows of most houses were strongly barricaded; in short, every man, fearful of the visits of the gangs of plunderers who infested the country, put his residence in the best state of defence he could.

In the county of Kildare, Mr. Darah, a respectable active magistrate, a gentleman of fortune, was attacked on his own lawn, amidst his servants and workmen, by a single assassin. No man attempted to prevent the act, or to seize the murderer, who presented a letter and shot Mr. Darah while he read it. As he did not fall instantly, the ruffian struck him down, and, supposing he wore some defensive armour under his clothes, drew forth a second pistol, which he thrust up under Mr. Darah's vest, and fired into his body, and then walked off unmolested. Though miserably crippled, Mr. Darah survived some years.

Captain Beaver's house was attacked at noon-day, and plundered of arms, ammunition, money, and wearing-apparel.

Mr. John Green's house was attacked also in the daytime, but, after an hour's smart firing, he beat off

the ruffians. Many others in the vicinity were similarly attacked and plundered.

A plan was laid to murder a Mr. Thomas Rawson, of Glasely, who, having risen from the lowest order of society to be a magistrate, had, by his severity, rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the people. My father met him at dinner at the house of Dean Keatinge, at Narraghmore: the attachment borne towards my father by one of the conspirators induced the man to seek an opportunity after dinner of cautioning him not to allow his carriage to accompany Mr. Rawson's on the road home, lest accident should involve him in his (Mr. Rawson's) destruction. Unwilling to betray the man who made this very extraordinary communication, my father contented himself with taking Mr. Rawson into his carriage, and leaving him in safety near his own house; thus saving his life at the very great risk of his own. Mr. Rawson's carriage remained at Dean Keatinge's a considerable time after he had departed, so that he was far beyond their reach when the ruffians discovered their error.

Further off, in the county of Tipperary, a body of 800 or 900 men, mostly mounted, entered the town of Cahir in the daytime, and held possession of it until they had collected all the arms and ammunition that could be found after a regular search throughout all the houses.

That these and fifty other similar atrocities were the result of a settled, premeditated plan of the directory

now seemed beyond all doubt. My father used all his influence, as well in public as in private, to put a stop to them in his own neighbourhood, but in vain; the influence of the Directory was greater than his.

On the 20th of February my father went to Dublin with my mother, who was then near her confinement, and could not be left in such a scene. A few hours after his arrival in Dublin he met Mr. Richard M'Cormick, the same who had acted as Catholic secretary to the Convention, who told him that at the provincial meeting on the 19th he had ventured to recommend less violent measures, but that he was quickly silenced, and that on the same day, on going to the dinner, at which all the members and many others of the Association attended, he was so fearfully attacked and abused that he fled for his life. He assured my father it was therefore his determination to realise his property and to quit Ireland, where he was well aware there would now be no safety for him: a resolution which, happily for himself he immediately put in execution. My father and he had been old acquaintances; he knew of my father's having been returned as a member of the Provincial Committee, and hoped that through my father's influence he might be protected from personal violence, at least while he prepared for his departure. My father afterwards, during that day and the next, saw some of the leaders, to whom he urged all he could against their projects with safety to himself. He had got a kind of proclamation which was then in circulation among the United

Irishmen, recommending peace, industry, and sobriety, in the name of the directory. With this in his hand he asked why they did not enforce its recommendations. He was laughed at. He grew more serious, and threatened to quit them, when Mr. Samuel Neilson, of Belfast, said, "Take care what you say, Reynolds; you know too much to stop now: we'll have no half-measure men!" This man Neilson appeared to have been the most violent, determined conspirator among the associates. Able-bodied, sturdy, dark, plodding, and reserved, he seemed to possess unbounded influence over the Dublin leaders. He was subsequently seized and made prisoner by Gregg, the gaoler of Newgate, in the act of reconnoitring that prison to liberate O'Connor, Bond, and his other associates therein confined.

While on the subject of Neilson I cannot refrain from noticing a passage in the twenty-seventh volume of the State Trials, edited by Thomas Jones Howell. That gentleman professes to give a correct account of the different trials which took place during the Rebellion. As a compiler, the report he selects ought not only to be faithful and impartial, but, if he thinks proper to accompany that report by notes, he should take care to ascertain the truth of the circumstances related in those notes, and cautiously avoid converting a work intended for legal and historical references into a collection of scandalous gossip.

No one can read the report of the trials of M'Cann, Byrne, and Bond, selected for publication by Mr. Howell, without being immediately sensible of this defect;

and the notes with which that gentleman has accompanied the text show the design of Mr. Howell himself to throw as much disfavour as possible on my father. Not content, however, with this commentary, he has travelled out of his way to extract a petty anecdote from the Life of Curran by his son, which anecdote he has put in the first page of this volume of his reports, that it may immediately catch the eye of his readers. It is as follows :—

" Upon one occasion Reynolds saved himself from the vengeance of those whom he had betrayed in a way that was creditable to his presence of mind. Before he had yet publicly declared his infidelity to the cause of the United Irishmen, as one of their leaders, Samuel Neilson, was passing at the hour of midnight through the streets of Dublin, he suddenly encountered Reynolds, standing alone and unarmed. Neilson, who was an athletic man, and armed, rushed upon him and commanded him, upon pain of instant death, to be silent and to accompany him. Reynolds obeyed, and suffered himself to be dragged along through several dark and narrow lanes, till they had arrived at an obscure and retired passage in the liberties of Dublin. Here Neilson presented a pistol at his prisoner's breast. ' What,' said the indignant conspirator, ' should I do to the villain who could insinuate himself into my confidence for the purpose of betraying me?' Reynolds, in a firm tone, replied, ' You should shoot him through the heart.' Neilson was so struck by this reply that, though his suspicions were not removed, he changed his purpose,

and, putting up his pistol, allowed the other to retire. This fact is given as related by an eminent Irish barrister, to whom it was communicated by one of the parties."

Now there is not a word of truth or even probability in the story. Neilson indeed was a very athletic man; but few men would have liked to measure their strength with my father at that time: he was five feet eleven inches in height, and as active and able-bodied as any man of his day. The whole story of the midnight meeting is so absurd, that one would rather expect to find it in one of Mrs. Radcliffe's romances than in such works as Mr. Curran's or Mr. Howell's; and I confess, if I did not at once perceive the motive of its insertion in so conspicuous a part of the book, I should have been surprised to find a gentleman, and a lawyer, professing to make a serious compilation, giving as history a tale upon the evidence of Mr. Curran junior, who had it from Mr. Curran senior, who had it from an eminent "anonymous barrister," who had it from one of the parties!

If the latter assertion be true, this must be Neilson's account;* but the following is the true version of the only personal meeting between Neilson and my father after the arrest of the conspirators on the 12th of March; and, as this account does not come at fourth

* Mr. Moore tells us that Neilson was "bordering on insanity," which must be his best excuse if he had really told this strange tale to Mr. Curran's anonymous friend. See Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. ii. p. 87, note.

hand, but immediately from "one of the parties," who is neither ashamed nor afraid to declare himself, it may be entitled to a little more credit than the other.

A short time after the arrests at Bond's, Neilson met my father in the street, and, taking his arm, said he had a matter to talk over with him, and began as if to consult about what could be done for those in arrest. They were then near Bond's house, and Neilson said Mrs. Bond was anxious to see my father on the subject, and, as he himself was sought after by the police, he could not stop longer in the street. Under this pretence he brought my father into the house, and after a few minutes' conversation requested him to accompany him into a back room to see Mrs. Bond. My father did so without hesitation, and Neilson led the way through the warehouses on the middle floor. The dwelling-house was in Bridge-street; the warehouses went back for at least two hundred yards, and opened by large crane gates into a mews behind. When they had reached the furthest wareroom, instead of Mrs. Bond, they were met by a stout ill-looking man whom my father had never seen before. Neilson walked up to the man, who stood near the crane gate, which was shut, and, after wispering to him, the man went out of the wareroom, and shut the door after him. Neilson then spoke of the general plans of the United Irishmen for a few minutes, when the other man returned, with a brace of pistols in his hand, and resumed his former position. Some vague suspicions now flashed across my father's mind, and Neilson abruptly said, "Rey-

nolds, you have not a minute to live! you are the man who betrayed the delegates." "And dare you say that?" said my father, darting at him. At the same time he seized him by the collar with both hands, and thrust him back upon the man with the pistols with such force that the crane-gate, not being fastened, opened outwards to the mews on being pressed against, and the man fell down backwards into the lane, where Neilson would have followed, had not my father held him up. Neilson directly turned, or attempted to turn, the affair into a joke, saying, "Oh! my dear fellow, how could you be so violent? I assure you we only wished to try you; I fear you have killed him!" My father replied that he neither understood nor relished such practical jokes, and walked out of the warehouse, leaving Neilson to take such care as he pleased of his companion below. There were several persons in the house, who had been dining with Mrs. Bond, but my father passed through the hall without noticing any one. It was then between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, in the month of March.

Satisfied now that, whatever appearances the leaders chose to put on towards their dupes and followers, they were in reality the authors and promoters of all these excesses, and were determined to carry them through, my father saw that he must either be their accomplice or their victim.

I would here observe that I make a distinction between the leaders and the directory. It was not known at that time of what individuals the directory was com-

posed, and, in speaking of that body, it was only known by the orders issued in its name. It might have consisted of one man or of fifty, for aught my father knew at that time, whereas those who were the most active in guiding affairs in Dublin, and who appeared to have the greatest influence over the other conspirators, were very well known ; and these I term the leaders : such as Arthur O'Connor, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Counsellor Sampson, Oliver Bond, the two brothers Emmet, the two brothers Jackson, Doctor M'Nevin, John M'Can, and 10 or 12 others, whose names, not having been published at the time, I do not feel myself at liberty to make known now.

My father passed several days in a state of great anxiety and uncertainty as to the line of conduct he ought to pursue, and about the 25th of February he went with Mr. Cope to Castle Jordan, the seat of Sir Duke Giffard, in the county of Meath, on business relative to the estate of Corbettstown, which was then in Sir Duke's possession, and on which Mr. Cope and he had large claims, as I have already stated. They dined and slept at Castle Jordan. Mr. Cope was a merchant of known loyalty and honour, with whom my father's family had had for more than 30 years intimate acquaintance and very extensive commercial transactions, from some of which arose their mutual claims on the estate. The late Marquis of Lansdowne, then Lord Wycombe, who afterwards married Sir Duke Giffard's widow, and one or two other gentlemen, dined at the castle, when the conversation turned on the very dis-

turbed state of the country, which was everywhere the same scene of crime and disorder.

In returning the next day to Dublin with Mr. Cope, the topic was renewed, and it occurred to my father that, through Mr. Cope's intervention, he might so neutralize the plans of the United Irishmen as to stop them without compromising their personal safety, and at once save his country, his friends, and his own honour. My father sounded Mr. Cope on the subject, and, finding him well-disposed, determined to open the matter to him, but in such a way as not even to put it in his power to proceed further than my father chose to go; he therefore told him that he knew a man who abhorred these violent and criminal proceedings, and whom he would endeavour to prevail upon to enable government, through his (Mr. Cope's) agency, to stop them.

After much conversation, they fixed to meet on the following day. Mr. Cope, erroneously supposing that honours and rewards would induce the person my father spoke of to appear openly, went immediately to the secretary of state, and, armed with the secretary's authority, when he saw my father on the following afternoon, told him he was fully empowered to offer the greatest rewards and the highest honours to the man who would enable the government to stop the proceedings of the conspirators. My father assured him that neither honours nor rewards were sought for, or would be accepted; that the only conditions the person required were, that he himself should not be prosecuted

as a United Irishman upon any account whatever; that he should never be obliged or forced to prosecute any other person as a United Irishman, and that the channel through which the information came should be kept a secret; ; and further, that, as the person he alluded to would be obliged to quit Ireland for a time, to escape the murderer's knife, he should be allowed to draw on Mr. Cope for a sum not exceeding 500*l.*, in order to enable him to do so, as his own property was chiefly in lands and houses, on which he could not easily raise money in such distracted times. To these terms Mr. Cope pledged his word and honour, and again pressed considerable rewards, expressing his surprise that nothing would be accepted.

My father then made him such communications as would enable government to put a stop to the evil by seizing the principle leaders. He told him the views and purposes of the United Irishmen, as they had been related to him by Cummins and Daly, and their force, which then amounted to 350,000 men, and he informed him that there was to be a meeting at Bond's house on the 12th of March, to settle finally for a general rising, but my father was careful not to name or inculpate any individual. In fact, during the whole of his communications with Mr. Cope, and he saw him three times upon the subject, he never mentioned any name but that of Oliver Bond, and his only as being the proprietor of the house in which the conspirators were to meet on the 12th of March; but he expressly added, what was the fact, that Bond was not a member of the com-

mittee, and that he could not be present at their meeting, or acquainted with its proceedings.

On this second interview my father was unable to state positively that the meeting was finally fixed for the 12th, nor did he know the precise hour at which it would be held. To enable the government effectually to stop the further proceedings of the conspirators, it was necessary that they should be made acquainted with those particulars: my father therefore sought an interview with M'Can, who refused to give him the information he required until he produced his returns of men and money from the committee of the county of Kildare, which as treasurer he was expected to do. In order to procure those returns my father went to Kilkea on the 3rd March, and on the 4th he went to Castle Dermot, where he met his captains, and, having settled the returns with them, he proceeded to Daly at Kilcullen and got them, and on the 7th he returned to Dublin, and gave them to M'Can, who promised to call on him on Sunday the 11th, which he did, when he informed him that the meeting was fixed to take place on the morrow at the house of Oliver Bond at 10 o'clock in the forenoon. My father then saw Mr. Cope for the third and last time on this subject, and at that interview merely gave him those particulars.

He decidedly refused to intrust Mr. Cope with any other name, or any further particulars; and, when the latter urged him to make further disclosures, he assured him that the person who had been in com-

munication with him had gone to England, which at once put an end to all hope of obtaining further particulars through that channel, and as for himself, he had made Mr. Cope believe that he was in no other way concerned than as a medium of communication from that third person.

Excepting these communications with Mr. Cope, my father never had any conference with him, or with any other person on behalf of government, directly or indirectly, until the United Irishmen themselves caused him to be arrested by Colonel Campbell on the 5th of May, and in despite of himself placed him in a position from which there was no retreat, as will be seen further on. In his intercourse with Mr. Cope, his whole anxiety was to protect the persons of the United Irishmen, while he frustrated their schemes. He had effectually attained these two objects, but for their own wild and desperate violence, and he had determined to quit the kingdom with his family until quiet should be restored; but events crowded so quick upon him that he could not put his design in execution. The United Irishmen themselves deprived him of the power to do so.

Had he, like Richard MacCormick, been a single man without family or landed estate, he could have acted like him, if he was willing to leave his country and friends to their fate; but, having by his countenance, however ignorantly and unintentionally, aided in bringing matters to their present crisis, to seek his own safety by flight, leaving his country and

friends to certain destruction, would, as he justly conceived, have been an act of selfish cowardice, which he was incapable of committing.

In all the conspiracies we have hitherto heard of the ends and purposes were more or less known to those engaged; and, whether led on by patriotism, by the desire of revenge, by ambition, or by a hope of personal security or advantage, still the conspirator knew the object of his associating; with that knowledge he did so, and to that he pledged and devoted himself. It was reserved for our times to behold an association formed avowedly for honourable and justifiable purposes, into which when a man had once entered, he was to find himself tyrannically bound to every act repugnant to honour, to loyalty, to patriotism, and to virtue, and to abandon all the avowed purposes for which he had combined, or to have his life sacrificed by the assassins, and his reputation blasted by the calumnies, of those in whose atrocities he refused to participate, and as whose tool he refused blindly to commit himself.

The leaders of the United Irishmen swore, and made their associates do the like, *as being the sole object of their association,* to devote themselves to obtain Roman Catholic emancipation, an equal representation of all the people of Ireland, and a brotherhood of affection among all religious sects; and to nothing more. These were the only avowed purposes of that association. These same leaders afterwards acknowledged on oath before the highest tribunal of

the country that these were not their true objects; that they did not care a pin's point for any one of them;* that they were only held out as lures to catch and hoodwink their associates; that their true object was a total revolution, to be obtained by open rebellion, aided and protected by France; and that this, and this only, had been their object from the beginning of their associating. They ought to have added their individual hope of raising their own fortunes, should even the ruin of their country and the massacre of its inhabitants be the price of their aggrandizement.†

Strange as this avowal of the leaders must seem, it is nevertheless an unquestionable fact; and to forward these designs of these men my father was, as their tool, to become the enemy of his country, the murderer and plunderer of his friends; in short, a monster of cruelty and crime. If he hesitated, he surrendered himself and his family to be destroyed by the knives of their assassins, or, if they failed, by the infamous calumnies they invariably invented to justify their attempts. If he takes measures to prevent their crimes, he is stigmatized as an informer against his associates.

* In Dr. M'Nevin's examination on oath before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords on the 7th of August 1798, we find this question and answer: "Do you think the mass of the people care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink it contains, for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation?"—Answer: "I am sure they do not!!"

To Mr. Emmet the same question was put, and his reply was: "I believe the mass of the people do not care a feather for Catholic Emancipation!"

† See Tone's Memoirs, *passim*, for full corroboration of this.

—Associate of whom? Did he ever pledge himself to their murderous schemes? Did he ever intrude himself on their confidence? Did he not shun it? and when they followed him, and forced it on him, did he ever in word or deed encourage them for a moment? On the contrary, did he not from the first hour endeavour to dissuade them, and set himself in direct opposition to them? Did he ever attend a single meeting to promote their views, after those views were disclosed to him? Did he not invent and send excuses to avoid attending their most secret, most confidential, most important meeting of the 19th of February?

I repel with disdain the foul imputations of the party-writers and the slanderous journalists of the day, who, pandering to the basest passions of human nature, fill their pages and their columns with scandalous falsehoods, which, under the fictitious sanction of their editorial "we," they palm upon the world as truths.

My father never was, never could be, the associate of robbers and assassins. I appeal to every man, no matter what his country—no matter what his religion—no matter what his politics—if he abhors guilt and infamy; if he detests murder and robbery; if he is the enemy of him who seeks to build his own fortune on the ruin and devastation of his country; let him ask his own heart, situated as my father was, would he not have acted as he did?

In consequence of the information given by Mr. Cope to the government, the following persons, forming the Leinster Provincial Committee, were taken into

custody, at Oliver Bond's house, on Monday the 12th of March :—

Michael William Byrne,
Peter Ivers, from Carlow,
Lawrence Kelly, from Queen's County,
George Cummins, from Kildare,
Edward Hudson, of Grafton-street,
John Lynch, from Mary's Abbey,
Lawrence Griffin, from Tullow,
Thomas Reynolds, from Culmullin,
John M'Can, of Church-street,
Patrick Devine, from Ballymoney,
Christopher Martyn, from Dunboyne,
Peter Bannan, from Portarlington,
James Rose, from Windy Harbour, and
Oliver Bond, of Bridge-street, in whose house the meeting was held.

It is a positive fact that, at the time of this arrest, the government had no proofs to support informations against these men, nor would they have had the means of acquiring any, but through the subsequent conduct of the parties themselves. This fact is confirmed by the subsequent proceedings of the Privy Council.

The Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended in Ireland in 1796, from which period the executive government had exercised very arbitrary powers in arresting suspected persons; and at this time, far from limiting their measures to the extent of Mr. Cope's intelligence, they still further exerted their authority, and issued writs against a great number of other indi-

viduals, of whom above twenty were arrested on the 12th and following days. Not one of these latter was arrested or brought into suspicion by any communication, or act, or insinuation of my father, or by any other means, directly or indirectly, from or through him. Lord Edward Fitzgerald had kept out of the way ever since the time he had engaged my father to act for him in the county of Kildare, and he was not expected to be present at that meeting. But it subsequently appeared that Mr. Bellingham Swann, the magistrate who conducted the arrests on the 12th, had a writ in his pocket from the secretary of state for his lordship's arrest.

My father had seen Lord Edward on the 11th, that is, on the day before the arrests, at Leinster Lodge. He saw him again on the 14th, at the house of Dr. Kennedy, in Aungier-street, and a third time, by appointment, on the 15th, when Lord Edward gave him a letter for the Kildare County Committee. I mention these interviews in a cursory manner now. I shall presently have to speak more fully on the subject of Lord Edward, when I examine the history of his life and death, as given by Mr. Thomas Moore, and I will then state the circumstances which led to those three interviews, and what took place at them.

On the 17th of March my father left Dublin on his way to Kilkea, and slept at Naas, eighteen miles from town. His arrival was quickly known, being looked for in consequence of a letter written by post from Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Kennaa, stating that my father

had a letter to communicate from him to his friends, so that, before he had quitted his bedroom, next morning, Kennaa was with him, to let him know that several of the county members were assembled to meet him at the house of one Reilly, a publican, on the Curragh, or race-ground, of Kildare, about a mile and a half from the house in which he had slept. There was no possibility of avoiding that meeting; he therefore mounted his horse, and rode over. This was on the 18th day of March.

On entering the room he produced Lord Edward's letter, which assured them of his safety, and recommended them to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the late arrests. This brought on a discussion, and a proposition to change all the officers of the county committees, as it was supposed that none other could have furnished the intelligence on which the government had acted. My father very eagerly seconded this proposition, as its adoption would apparently enable him to quit the association without risk to himself. He offered his resignation as an example : it was accepted, and the committee resolved to recommend a similar measure to all the counties of the province of Leinster. Michael Reynolds of Naas was chosen to replace Cummins, who had been arrested in Dublin; Dr. John Esmund was chosen in my father's place; Mr. Daly, the delegate, not being present, nor arrested, the arrangement respecting him was postponed.

No other business was done at that meeting. There seemed a gloomy distrustful suspicion on every man's

countenance—all seemed equally anxious to get away—the whole business did not last five-and-twenty minutes. My father afterwards learned the immediate cause of their confusion. They had, that same morning, before his arrival, buried in the garden of the public-house the body of one of their associates, whom they had murdered on that same morning, because they suspected him of disaffection to their cause. The body was afterwards removed by order of the magistrates, and the house was burnt to the ground. It is a shocking fact that murder and outrage accompanied all the steps of the association, which, as Mr. Tone, its founder, very justly observed, in his defence before the court-martial, "had degenerated into an absolute system of assassination."

On the 19th of March Kennaa called again on my father at Kilkea, to request him to show Lord Edward's letter to his captains, and, as he considered that to be a favourable occasion to resign his command, he immediately acceded to Kennaa's request. On the 20th of March, being a fair-day, he met six or seven of them at the town of Athy, at the fair. He there showed them the letter, and then burnt it in their presence, in order thereby to do away with every pretence for calling on him in future. He then acquainted them with the determination of the county committee to change its officers, and of his consequent resignation of all employment. He was not however allowed to resign his office of colonel altogether, but a Mr. Caulfield was named joint colonel with him. From that moment he

never attended another meeting, and knew no more of them nor of their proceedings. At those two meetings nothing was done but what I have related, and with them ended my father's connexion with the United Irishmen. He never after met, or held communication with any of them as United Irishmen, or on the subject of their designs.

Having thus, happily as he thought, got rid of all connexion with the association, and having performed his duty to his country, he set about active preparations for removing his family from Ireland, until quiet should be restored. My mother was then in Dublin, waiting her confinement, and he took advantage of the delay that approaching event must necessarily occasion to get his spring corn into the ground, and otherwise to put his lands, as well as his house, in such condition, as to suffer as little as possible by his absence. While he was thus engaged, the machinations of the United Irishmen, who now suspected him, and the open persecutions of the government, who were ignorant that he was the person who had communicated with Mr. Cope, prevented him from carrying his design of quitting the country into effect. Many circumstances concurred in rendering him suspected by the administration, particularly his relationship to the Fitzgeralds, and his acquaintance with Lord Edward, combined with the influence he seemed to possess over the common people, which was shown in perhaps too striking a manner on the 25th of March in the Roman Catholic chapel at Mageny Bridge.

I should here observe that, towards the end of February, the country, which up to that period had preserved some appearance of order, became a scene of riot, robbery, and assassination, night and day; nor were the United Irishmen the only actors in these disgraceful scenes. The king's troops, led on by the magistrates, were too often guilty of the most shameful abuses. From that time there was no more amusement, no more society; all was party rancour throughout the country. Martial law was declared, the working classes attended little to their business; all was gloom and dissatisfaction. At night strong parties of yeomanry and soldiers spread in every direction to prevent robberies and seditious meetings; but all in vain! Thumbscrews, pitchcaps, flogging, picketing, and a hundred other tortures, were resorted to, but equally without any beneficial result: the atrocities daily increased; the gaols were filled, and all to no purpose; every example seemed but to augment the determined spirit of the rioters. Every man fortified his house—all windows within five-and-twenty or thirty feet of the ground were boarded or bricked up, with mere loop-holes left to fire or look through. Every gentleman went about completely armed. The few, the very few, who did not use those precautions, and who nevertheless passed in safety, became suspected, and suspicion was the signal for persecution. My father was one of those few, and he was marked out as one of the first to be attacked.

Among the measures of severity adopted by the go-

vernment against those who either were, or were suspected to be, of the rebel party, was that most abominable, unjust, and iniquitous one of free quarters, which consisted in sending a number of soldiers, in proportion to the rank and means of the intended victim, to live *ad libitum* in his house and at his expense for a longer or shorter period.

These troops, thus in possession of the premises, ransacked and rummaged for arms, papers, and everything that might inculpate the proprietor, whose person and effects they seized during their stay. They used his means for their support at their sole discretion.

They employed their leisure in patrolling through the neighbourhood, pillaging the houses, seizing the arms, and collecting information in the surrounding district ; seizing suspected persons, and plundering and foraging as if in an enemy's country.

The dragoons have been seen returning from these marauding parties, loaded in the most extraordinary manner : a piano-forte ! a pig, a bundle of house-linen, bedding, a bureau, jars of wine or spirits, flitches of bacon, geese, turkeys, fowls, carpets, wearing-apparel, kitchen-furniture, pier-glasses, pictures, &c. &c. A gentleman, on whose veracity I have the fullest reliance, assured me he had seen at different times every description of article here mentioned carried on troop-horses by the soldiers. The piano-forte was a square one : it was tied on the horse behind the trooper, and he rode into the garrison-town of Athy with it. In another instance he saw a live sow tied behind a trooper,

and six or eight young pigs, tied by the hind-legs, hanging half on each side across the horse's shoulders. Cows, calves, oxen, and sheep, were considered fair booty.

The picture I here give is not overdrawn, and from it some idea may be formed of the state of the country at that period.

Hoping to preserve the part of the country in which he resided from continuing their career of murder and robbery, on Sunday, the 25th of March, my father attended at the chapel of Mageny Bridge, and, after the mass had been celebrated, he ascended the steps of the altar, and, by the permission of the priest, harangued the congregation, representing the heinousness of the crimes that were everywhere perpetrated, and the miseries they must inevitably bring upon themselves and their families. He then took up a tone of authority, and assured them that those who seduced them, and led them to such scenes, were a mere set of idle vagabonds, who were a disgrace to the country, and that he himself would aid in prosecuting and bringing such fellows to justice, whenever he could discover them. His harangue seemed to have some effect upon the congregation, and some of the plundered property was restored on the ensuing night, particularly that of Captain Beaver; but even at the chapel-door, as he was going out, his own life was openly threatened, and he was plainly told he should assuredly be murdered, if he continued to oppose the orders of the committees.

These and other circumstances were considered by

government as proofs of his possessing an undue influence; and the very persons whose goods were restored considered him, not as an individual actuated by worthy motives, but as the head of a gang, influencing his subaltern plunderers. So decided was this description of feeling throughout Ireland, that on the trials by courts-martial, during and subsequent to the heat of the rebellion, the successful display of humanity by a person accused was very frequently urged, and with success, as a proof of guilt. Whoever could be proved to have saved a Royalist from assassination, his house from being burned, or his property from plunder, was considered as having undue influence among the people, and was consequently set down as a rebel commander. When the rebel chief Keugh was brought to trial at Wexford, where at great peril of his own life he had preserved that of the Earl of Kingston, his protection and kindness to that nobleman, who was a witness for the prosecution, were adduced as undoubted proofs of his guilt, to the great scandal of many persons in court. When Keugh was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, a gentleman in the court exclaimed, "Well, I thank my God that no person can prove me guilty of saving the life or property of any one."

These very circumstances, which raised the suspicions of government, caused my father to be reported through the United Irish committees as one counteracting their measures, and disaffected to their cause, insomuch as to occasion John M'Can, the provincial secretary, on his

first arrival in Dublin, to refuse to converse with him until he had produced his credentials from the county to counteract the impressions he had received through the committees to his prejudice, before he had any idea of hostility to the United Irishmen.

Government had also strong suspicions that he was privy to Lord Edward's escape and concealment; but the United Irishmen made the first attack on him.

On the 16th of April he was occupied in walling up a closet, which was made in the thickness of the wall of his common sitting-room, and which had evidently been originally intended as a secure place for depositing valuables. The entire room was newly papered, in order the better to conceal the closet, in which he had deposited his family plate, to the value of about 1000*l.*, together with 3500 guineas in gold, which had been unexpectedly paid to him a few days before, and other valuables. While thus occupied, in company with his cousin, Mr. Thomas Dunn, of Leinster Lodge, who alone was privy to the concealment, the county delegate belonging to the district of Narrah and Rheban, accompanied by another man whom he did not know, called on him and gave him notice, as if he was still a member of the county committee, to meet that committee at Bell's public-house on the Curragh of Kildare, on the following day. This he of course refused to do, as he had formally withdrawn from the committee, and would not renew a connexion he had just so happily got rid of. He reminded them that he had joined the society in that county at Lord

Edward's solicitation, and merely to occupy his Lordship's post until his return; but, as he no longer held any situation among them, his presence could no longer be of use on Lord Edward's account; and he added that he had retired to his former private station, which he would not again quit on any account. They went away sulky and discontented, and, from what my father afterwards learned, had not his cousin, Thomas Dunn, been with him, there is no doubt they would then have attempted his life. But the matter was the same evening explained to him by a Mr. Kinselah, who called on him for that purpose, and told him that one of the brothers Sheares, who, on the arrests of the 12th of March, had assumed the direction of the conspiracy in Dublin, had arrived at Dr. Esmund's house, near Naas, and, having called a private meeting of some of the county delegates, had informed them officially, in the name of the directory, that my father was the man who had caused the arrests of the 12th of March, upon which they resolved that he should be summoned to attend them the next day at Bell's, and there be put to death, unless he proved beyond all doubt that he was innocent of the charge. The fear of offending his family and connexions prevented them from assassinating him at once on the first communication. Kinselah was himself one of the county committee, and was present at this meeting. He was a farmer of some importance, and rented all his land under my father's relatives. Matthew Kennaa called on my father next morning, and urged him to ride over to the meeting

with him. My father of course refused; and the consequence was, that one Murphy, a butcher, residing at Naas, and Kennaa, received orders to shoot him, and undertook the task. At about seven o'clock in the morning of the 18th of April he was superintending the sowing with oats of an upland called Ballylian, a piece of land which adjoined the high-road leading from Kilkea to Naas. The two assassins rode up to the gate. Kennaa alighted and entered the field, leaving Murphy in the care of the horses. From what had previously passed, as well as from a thorough knowledge of the United Irishmen, my father was suspicious and well armed. He observed that Kennaa seemed much confused, and was fumbling in his breast as he approached; he also remarked that he did not take his hat off to him as usual: my father therefore stepped up quickly to him and said, "What mischief are you after now, Kennaa?" and, putting his hand at the same time upon his breast, he felt a pistol. My father was at that day a very athletic powerful man, whom few individuals could have overcome in a desperate struggle. Kennaa trembled exceedingly, and made no resistance to his taking the pistol, and, while he stammered out something about respect and attachment to my father's person and family, he acknowledged that he came for the purpose of shooting him, in consequence of orders to that effect from his superiors.

Having escaped the danger, it was not my father's interest to have his former connexions with the party known; he therefore suffered Kennaa to depart. Mean-

while, Murphy, seeing that the attempt had failed, turned Kennaa's horse loose upon the road and made off.

There were at least twenty workpeople dispersed over the field, where five ploughs were at work at the time. Kennaa was a stout young man, about three-and-twenty years of age, son to a respectable farmer, who was tenant to the Duke of Leinster, residing about four or five miles from Kilkea.

This second attempt of the United Irishmen to murder my father was only the prelude to the persecutions he was to undergo. It was now the turn of the government party to attack him: and the treatment he received at their hands is a sufficient answer to all who may have accused or suspected him of having been their agent.

The suspicions which, as I before said, he lay under, caused him to be particularly fixed up as a fit subject for a military visit. It was reported, among those who called themselves exclusively loyal subjects, that Lord Edward was concealed at Kilkea, that my father was a chief leader among the United Irishmen, that Kilkea Castle was a great depôt of arms and ammunition, and that he was repairing the old fortifications, as it was to be the head-quarters and principal depôt of the rebels in Kildare, when the expected insurrection should take place. A clock which he had placed in one of the towers was magnified into an enormous bell, on which the tocsin was to be sounded to call the country to arms. Under these impressions Colonel Campbell, who commanded the Athy district under Sir Ralph

Abercrombie, whose head-quarters were at Kildare, sent a troop of the 9th dragoons and a company of the Cork militia, the whole amounting to two hundred men and eighty horses, exclusive of servants and followers, to live at Kilkea at free quarters.

Having finished all his preparations for his departure, my father had invited his grandfather, his uncles, and other relatives and friends, to the number of about twenty persons, to a farewell dinner on the 20th of April, but about eleven o'clock Captain Erskine of the 9th dragoons, accompanied by Cornet Witherington of the same regiment and Captain Neal of the Cork militia, and three dragoons, with drawn swords and pistols, entered the great hall, where my father met them and demanded their business. Erskine, who seemed much agitated and alarmed, said he came to take possession of the castle, and to place my father in arrest. My father required to see his authority. He pointed to the officers and soldiers who accompanied him, and said, if that was not sufficient he might look out on the road at the rest of his troops then advancing, followed by a strong body of infantry.

This man and all those with him seemed to be labouring under considerable fear, although no one appeared but my father and a couple of nurse-maids. My father replied that he must submit to force for the moment, but that it should afterwards be seen how he could justify himself.

Captain Erskine had long been notorious throughout the country for the harsh manner in which he executed

his duties. The fate of this gentleman was remarkable. On the first morning of the insurrection, (the 24th of May,) the rebels to the number of three hundred, took post in the burial-ground of the old church at Kilcullen bridge. General Dundas with his cavalry came upon them at seven o'clock in the morning, and without waiting for his infantry, ordered a charge over the little wall into the churchyard. Captains Erskine and Cooks gallantly led their troops to the assault, but were soon repulsed, leaving Captain Cooks and twenty men dead, and Captain Erskine and ten men badly wounded in the churchyard. General Dundas then fell back on his infantry. Erskine's horse had stumbled over a tomb-stone, by which the rider was thrown and was stunned, and his leg broken by the fall. As he came to his senses he was recognised by an old beggar-woman who was stripping the dead. She loaded him with abuse and reproaches, and taking an old clasped knife from her pocket, she destroyed him by repeated stabs, and with her companions treated his remains with barbarous indignity.

The remainder of Captain Erskine's forces soon arrived at Kilkea, completely surrounding the castle; and, having placed two dragoons to guard my father, Captain Erskine with the other officers, and eight or ten men, proceeded to the vaults which were of great extent, as was frequently the case in these ancient feudal castles, containing not only wine cellars of all kinds, but stabling for forty horses, many of which were constructed in the great ancient kitchen and

its appurtenances. The soldiers never condescended to ask for the key of any door; all were forced open. They remained in these vaults until past three o'clock, astonished that they could not find any thing improper, for the simple reason that they did not contain any thing but what should naturally be deposited there. They preserved the wines and malt liquor, but they beat in the heads of some casks of spirits, and let the liquor run about the floor, which they said was done to prevent the men from getting drunk during their stay.

The cook had fled, but they pursued and brought her back, forcing her to continue preparing the dinner, which my father had ordered for his friends, and of which these robbers took possession. Captain Erskine placed himself at the head of the table, and insolently offered my father a seat at the side, as if he were master, and my father a mere guest; but after some very sharp words had passed, in which my father freely explained his opinion of the conduct of Erskine and his companions, he was allowed to retire to his bed-room, which was first minutely examined, and a sentinel placed outside the door. When it became known to Colonel Campbell that Cornet Witherington had been sent to Kilkea, he was immediately replaced by Cornet Love of the same regiment, a man notorious for his violent and brutal conduct.

After dinner a general search began all through the castle to discover Lord Edward, and the great depôt of arms and ammunition. My father assured Erskine on

his honour that Lord Edward was not in the castle, and that he did not know where he was. He also assured him there was no depôt of any kind in the castle; that he had not, nor ever had, any sort of pike or other weapon of the kind, on his premises, either in or out of doors; that he possessed but one fowling-piece, one case of duelling, and one case of large pocket-pistols, which he used as holster pistols in his capacity of yeoman, and about two pounds of powder, the whole of which were in the public breakfast-parlour, open to all the world.

Notwithstanding these assurances, they tore up the flooring from three complete stories of the castle, the whole of which had been recently laid down at great expense. They tore down the old oak wainscoting, not a vestige of which remained throughout the whole castle. They next broke the walls in various places, and tore off the paper and canvass of such as were not wainscoted. They broke up the stairs, and in a few hours they rendered the interior of the castle a mere ruin, preserving only my father's bed-room, which, however, underwent a very severe investigation, having the walls, cupboards, ceilings, and floors, pierced in many places. They also preserved their own sitting-room, which they found necessary for their personal comfort: yet in that room was the only concealment that had been made in the castle, being the closet which my father had walled up, and which, if found, did not contain anything but money, some papers, and the old family plate. After the Rebellion, my father's

cousin, Mr. Thomas Dunn, of Leinster Lodge, who had aided him in closing it, opened it, and transmitted the valuables it contained to him in Dublin.

Captain Erskine, without ceremony, took possession of everything in and about the castle. There were twelve beds for visitors, exclusive of those used by the family, some of whom being absent with my mother, left three or four more vacant. The officers and non-commissioned officers occupied these beds: straw was laid down for the men. Forty horses were placed in the vaults, the others were accommodated in the outhouses. The contents of the haggart, granary, and barn, as well as the sheep, cattle, pigs, and poultry, were all seized for the use of these marauders; even the milch cows and labouring oxen were killed for their food, which was distributed in the most profuse and wasteful manner. Michael Byrne, my father's steward, proved his delivery of cattle, sheep, and threshed corn, to the value of 630*l.* sterling, independent of corn in the straw; and also independent of hay, pigs, poultry, bacon, flour, dried and salted provisions, liquors, groceries, and wine, none of which articles were at all included in the receipts taken by Byrne. The wine was every morning and evening brought in buckets to the lawn in front of the castle, and a pint was there measured out to every soldier, attendant, and follower of this party. Beer was drunk *ad libitum*. The friends and acquaintances of the officers, their wives and children, and the wives and trulls of the soldiers, came daily from Athy to see the castle as a party of pleasure, where every one

was feasted at my father's expense. If they did not find all they wished for at the castle, they sent out foraging parties through all the neighbourhood, seizing what they pleased. As there was not a sufficiency of oats for their cattle, they mixed with it wheat, which was threshed, and when no more threshed grain remained, they placed the wheat in the sheaf before their horses, by which means full as much grain was lost in the litter as was eaten. They dug up all the frames in the garden, they hacked and carved dates and names on the mahogany dining-tables, broke up all the furniture, and, from mere wantonness, smashed every pier glass in the castle, of which ten or twelve were of very large dimensions; cut out the strings, split the sounding-boards, and hacked the outside of three piano-fortes. A pedal harp, which was then a rare instrument, and which cost one hundred guineas, exclusive of the carriage, case, and expenses from London, where it had been made, was a particular object of their wrath, as the harp was the symbol of Ireland, and the harp without a crown was the impression on Napper Tandy's United Volunteers' buttons. This, as well as some other musical instruments, totally disappeared. They cut the paintings from their frames, and used them as targets to fire at, or cut them in pieces with their sabres in the frames. Some of these paintings were of great value, having been a present from Sir Joshua Reynolds to my grandfather, who, proud of this gift, had been at some expense in procuring a few others of good masters, to make up a little collection, to which

my father added three or four. The whole collection was destroyed. They broke down the sluices of the river Greece, which ran through the estate, and so let the water inundate about seventy acres of meadow land, ruining it for that season, and by thus letting off the water they emptied the great pond which supplied the manor mill, to the great distress of all the neighbourhood. The pretence for this act was to lower the bed of the river, and empty the mill-pond, that they might see if pikes or other weapons were concealed there. The wives and servants of the officers, as well as the soldiers' wives and followers, kept up a constant petty pillage, carrying off linen, blankets, quilts, books, china, and everything that was portable beyond the precincts of my father's bed-room, where, as yet all was preserved by his living entirely in it.

It has been my father's lot since then, to witness the ravages of war in the Peninsula, where Spaniards, French, Portuguese, and English, with their German auxiliaries, men trained to rapine, alternately plundered and devastated the country, but in all that disorder, of which he was an eye-witness during six years, he has frequently assured me that he never saw such cool-blooded, wanton, useless destruction, as was committed by Captain Erskine and his companions at Kilkea, and over the surrounding country. It was Croppy property, and that was quite sufficient in their eyes to make destruction a virtue. My father's steward, William Byrne, was flogged and tortured to make him discover the supposed depôt of arms. Lieutenant Love

of the ninth dragoons, son of the quarter-master of the same regiment, being a tall man, tied his silk sash about Byrne's neck, and hung him over his shoulders, while another officer flogged him until he became insensible. Similar acts acquired for Mr. Love the soubriquet of the "walking gallows."

The troops quitted Kilkea upon the 29th; but soon after my father's final arrest, the state of the country, as well as other circumstances, indicated an immediate insurrection, and Kilkea Castle was occupied by troops, and converted into a regular garrison. It was attacked by the insurgents during the Rebellion, but they could not make any impression on it. The soldiers' wives, a few of the neighbouring petty gentry and farmers' families claimed protection, and were allowed to remove into the castle with their families, and reside their during the troubles. Myrtil Yates, the daughter of Mr. Yates, of Moone, who, having been married, was, on account of her irregularities, living apart from her husband, obtained possession of my mother's bed-room, the contents of which she seemed to fancy were her own: books, linen, wearing apparel, my mother's trinkets, &c., all were appropriated and carried away. The castle was occupied by about four hundred persons during two months. All that had escaped the first visit of the troops was now destroyed, burned as fuel, or carried away.

When Captain Erskine paid his first visit to this fine ancient baronial seat of the Fitzgeralds, it had been newly roofed, floored, ceiled, painted, and repaired by

my father, from top to bottom, at an expense exceeding 2500*l.* It was well furnished, making twelve beds for visitors, exclusive of those used by the family. There was a good small modern library, and a valuable collection of paintings by some of the first masters. The carpets, glasses, and hangings were all of the best kind, and most abundant. In the music-room, which had been the ancient baron's hall, were a grand piano, a square piano, and a very fine harpsicord, a pedal harp, then a rare and expensive instrument in Ireland, a bass violin, and other musical instruments. The butler's pantry and kitchen were all abundantly provided. The stock in the cellars, stores, granary, and poultry-yard were such as became the abundant establishment of a gentleman, and had cost very dear, as my father had been obliged to purchase the whole, not having as yet been long enough in the place to raise them from his own lands. He occupied three hundred and fifty acres, which were stocked and cropped as they ought to be.

After the troubles had entirely ceased, an agent was sent from Dublin to collect whatever remained on the lands and in the castle, and to sell the whole by auction. The Earl of Aldborough was then at his seat at Belem, which adjoined to Kilkea. His lordship attended the sale in the hope of purchasing some of the paintings, but none remained. His lordship, as a magistrate, certified the fact of the sale, &c., and after all the expenses were paid, my father received for the residue of the entire property, the sum of 27*l.*, Irish currency! The castle remained an uninhabitable ruin for many years.

Such was a part of the treatment my father received from the government. The return of his losses on this occasion, together with all necessary vouchers, and certificates conformably to the terms of the act for indemnifying suffering Loyalists, was duly delivered to the Secretary of State, at his own particular desire, and amounted to 12,760*l.*; a sum which would not have replaced the property lost by one-half, because the magistrates only certified for the value of articles if sold, not for what it would cost to replace them, and also because there were very many items which could not be enumerated, and consequently were not valued at all.

CHAPTER V.

Mr. Reynolds sets out for Dublin—Another attempt to assassinate him—he returns to Kilkea—Is arrested by Colonel Campbell, on informations laid against him by the United Irishmen—Unworthy conduct of Major Witherington—Mr. Reynolds is sent to Dublin—Expeditious proceedings of Courts Martial—Mr. Reynolds joins the Government—Remarks on his conduct—Agreement made by him, as well on his own behalf, as on behalf of the United Irishmen—Some proofs that Mr. Reynolds did not stipulate for, nor receive any rewards from Government—Extent of his losses—Circumstances which prove that he well knew he could have had any thing he chose to demand.

1798.

After the departure of Erskine on the 29th of April, my father made out the best account he could on the moment, and on the 3rd May he set off for Dublin, with the intention of seeking redress. He was a member of a yeomanry corps commanded by the Duke of Leinster, and under his Grace, by my grand-uncle Thomas Fitzgerald, called the Athy Leinster Cavalry. He rode in his uniform, as did most persons at that period, that dress being a sort of passport with the military, while it enabled a man to go armed against the attacks of the united banditti. He overtook Mr. Wheeler Barrington on the road, who was also going to Dublin. That gentleman was brother to that Sir Jonah Barrington whose name has been rendered sufficiently notorious by the

proceedings in Parliament relative to his conduct while holding the office of Judge of the Admiralty in Ireland, from the years 1805 to 1810.*

Mr. Wheeler Barrington and my father rode forward together, until having passed through the town of Naas about a quarter of a mile, they met a Mr. Taylor, an attorney, who resided in Athy, and who was also a member of the Leinster Cavalry. He was returning from Dublin, where he had been with a dispatch; he expressed surprise and pleasure at seeing my father, but he told him he must not go forward, as the road a little further on was beset with ruffians, waiting his coming, who made no secret of their intention to destroy him; and he assured my father it was the same in Dublin, where his supposed connexion with Government formed the common conversation among the United Irishmen and their friends, who circulated a thousand infamous reports respecting him. While in Dublin Mr. Taylor had visited the Romish nunnery in King Street: even there the recluses of that community talked of nothing else: they exultingly affirmed that he had already been arrested by the garrison of Athy, and would be executed before Mr. Taylor got back to that town. Among the most violent of these charitable ladies were two of my father's aunts, Mrs. Molloy and Miss Fitzgerald, whom I have already noticed, and of whom I shall have more to say presently. This intelligence caused my father to return to Naas, where Mr. Taylor

* For particulars see the *Courier* newspaper of the 7th and 24th of May, 1830.

dined with him at Macdonnel's Inn, at which place his intelligence as to the road being occupied by the conspirators, and their disposition towards him was confirmed, and, as it began to grow late, he remained at the inn for that night. Mr. Taylor proceeded for Athy: his size and uniform caused him to resemble my father, and the ruffians knowing that my father had returned into Naas, thought he was going back to Kilkea, and placed a party to intercept him outside the town, at the point where the road to Kilkea branches off from that leading to Athy. These fellows mistook Mr. Taylor for my father, knocked him off his horse, and stuck a pike into his thigh: fortunately one of them recognised him when he was on the ground, and his life was saved. Though badly wounded they would not suffer him to return into Naas, so that his misfortunes did not come to my father's knowledge for many months.

During some years after the Rebellion, my father received occasional letters from Mr. Taylor, by which he learned that the resentment and persecution of those who had been United Irishmen, and their partisans, against him, for having caused my father to return to Naas, was such as very materially to injure him in his profession. The rancorous enmity of these men never ceases: rapine, destruction, and revenge are, with them, appetites never to be satisfied.

The assemblage of these men could not be long unknown to the military. Troops were sent out from the garrison, and the roads were scoured in every direction.

Meanwhile my father's situation was very precarious: Macdonnel, in whose house he remained, was, like all persons of his class, a sort of United man, and was strongly urged by Michael Reynolds and others, to allow a party to enter his house and murder my father during the night. Macdonnel's own ruin must have ensued had he done so: he was a prudent and a humane man; he went to my father and told him what was going on. The room he occupied in the inn looked on the street, and was directly fronting a guard-room of the military; so that being warned of the danger, he fastened the door, and being armed, he could have resisted, without difficulty, while he gave the alarm from his window. Thus the time passed until day-break, when, knowing that the military were still out, and that consequently the roads were safe, he mounted his horse, and returned on the 4th of May to Kilkea, where he could defy the assassins, unless he allowed himself to be taken unarmed and by surprise.

At this period the disturbed state of the country rendered all communication difficult and precarious. Expresses were frequently waylaid, robbed, and sometimes murdered on the roads at noon-day. The military had authority to act independently of the civil power, and courts-martial in the country towns and out-quarters, executed their sentences in a most summary manner, without appeal to Dublin. Men were frequently arrested, tried, and executed by these military tribunals within the space of two or three hours. In many places they were permanently sitting, and though perhaps

composed of very honourable men, yet assuredly they knew nothing of law, and having very rarely the assistance of a judge-advocate, too frequently decided according to the excitement of the moment. The speed with which their decrees were executed unfortunately prevented revision. Stationed throughout the country to prevent disorder, they were in perpetual war with the inhabitants, and thus, their passions in a continual state of excitement, they could not be very impartial judges. An officer of the 9th dragoons flogged my father's steward, while Cornet Love held him on his back, as I have already related. A noble lord, who also enjoyed high military rank, not only superintended the flogging of the Croppies, catechising them while under the lash, but is said to have flung salt on the wounds of the sufferers to increase their torture. Could such men be considered as fit to be on a court-martial to decide on the lives of those very men, whom they thus hunted and tormented? Yet of these, and of such as these men were those courts-martial composed in 1798; and before these individual officers, who had thus plundered his property, and barbarously ill used his steward, my father was now to be dragged and tried for his life, at the instigation of the United Irishmen!

Their attempts to assassinate him having all failed, the United Irishmen resolved to adopt another course. Five of the men who had chosen him for their colonel, viz.,—Fairlay, Brannox, Pender, and two brothers named Germain,—were arrested and lodged in Athy gaol by Colonel Campbell on some charge connected

with the United Irish business. The County Committee, whose duty it was to advise and assist such of their associates as fell under the lash of the authorities, ordered these five men to make their peace by accusing my father, in expectation that, being tried by a court-martial, he would fall a victim to military execution, although he had escaped assassination: *and this measure of theirs it was that first brought my father into direct communication with the administration.* In obedience to those commands these five men deposed before Colonel Campbell that my father was a principal leader of the United Irishmen, and their immediate chief or colonel. In consequence of these depositions Colonel Campbell on the 5th of May sent a party of dragoons to arrest him at Kilkea. On that morning, expecting letters from Dublin, my father had mounted a little Arabian horse belonging to my mother, and had ridden to the post-office at Castle Dermot about a mile from Kilkea Castle, on the side opposite to that on which the town of Athy was situated, from whence a party of the 9th dragoons were detached to arrest him. The dragoons arrived at Kilkea soon after he had left it, and Sergeant Mackay and a few troopers were sent after him to Castle Dermot, where they found him reading his letters at the door of the post-office. They rode up to him, and with much civility said they had orders to conduct him to Athy. He accordingly returned with them to Kilkea, where he delivered his keys to his steward, William Byrne, with a note for his cousin, Thomas

Dunn of Leinster Lodge, requesting him to take charge of everything at Kilkea, particularly of a large sum in gold, which he already knew where to find. He then put about 300*l.* which he had in bank notes, into his pocket, and ordered the two nurses and the cook to go with my brother and sister to Kilmead, the house of his grandfather Fitzgerald, which was about three miles off. The military behaved during all this time with the greatest politeness and consideration: they did not hurry him in the least, nor did they attempt to interfere, or even to listen to his conversation with his servants, or to interrupt his arrangements.

Such was the alarm in the country, that when my brother and sister were brought to Kilmead, my great-grandfather was afraid to receive them. The servants therefore brought them to my father at Athy gaol, who instantly ordered them to be taken up to Dublin to my mother.

When these arrangements were concluded, my father set off for Athy, riding beside the officer, and closely followed by the troopers with swords drawn. About half way between Kilkea and Athy was a large field on the left side of the road, which was used as a place of exercise for the yeomanry cavalry of the district. In that field, about ten yards from the road, was Major Edward Witherington on horseback, evidently waiting to see my father pass by in custody. Some of the soldiers who formed the escort cried "Shame! shame!" But he had no shame: he re-

mained as long as the cavalcade was in sight, and then rode off to Dublin, supposing my father would, like so many others, be immediately brought to trial and executed. I shall presently relate the truly *fraternal conduct* he displayed on his arrival in Dublin.

On his arrival at Athy my father was conducted to Colonel Campbell's head-quarters, to be tried by the court-martial then sitting, and, if found guilty, of which there could be little doubt, on the evidences of the five men I have mentioned, to be executed immediately. Thus in a few hours was he to perish as a rebel and a traitor to his king and country, through the machinations of those very men with whom he was accused of associating, and who at the same hour were loading his name with calumnies to justify their own treachery. This was the event announced four days previously to Mr. Taylor by the religious recluses of King-street Convent in Dublin, as having already happened. Did they prophesy it? or did they know of the intention of their friends to betray him? It was very extraordinary that this same anticipated report should have spread so generally that it actually reached my mother's ears in her sick-room in Dublin, and she remained tormented with anxiety for two days, until at length she received a letter from my father assuring her of his safety. He wrote that letter on the 6th from Athy gaol, purposely to prevent her being alarmed. She received it early on the morning of the 7th. One of the sons of Sir Samuel Broad-street soon after called to see her, and she showed

him the letter. "I rejoice to see it," said he, "for a United Irish fellow who lives near my mother at Booterstown," (which place is three miles beyond Dublin,) "had greatly alarmed us all with the report of your husband's arrest, and, in fact, I came here purposely to inquire about him."

My mother lodged within a few doors of her sister, Mrs. Heavyside, and on the evening of the same day she went to take tea with her, when Edward Witherington unexpectedly arrived; and, as he had come direct from Athy, my mother naturally asked him if he had any news, or if he had seen my father in the country. "Oh, yes," said he; "and you will know it to-morrow." "What is it? for God's sake tell me!" said my mother. "No, no," replied he, "you'll hear enough to-morrow;" and nothing could induce him to give any explanation other than to say that it was bad enough, and she would know it all on the morrow.

This was the first time my mother had ventured out since her confinement; and she became so agitated, that one of Mr. Heavyside's brothers who was present gave her his arm, and she left the house on foot, and passed some hours in going from one friend's house to another, seeking intelligence, but in vain. No one knew anything of what had passed, and she returned home in a sad state of incertitude and apprehension. Had Major Witherington pretended ignorance, or had he told her all he knew, it would have been much better; but he fully expected to hear of my father's death next day, and his wicked mind enjoyed the misery he had caused his sister to feel.

Meantime Colonel Campbell, with great difficulty, had agreed to delay proceedings for a few hours. My father's representation, and perhaps the advice of his brother-officers, induced him to send to Dublin for instructions. They probably represented to Colonel Campbell that so hasty a proceeding against a gentleman in my father's sphere of life, so very near the seat of government, while no necessity for such haste existed, might draw on himself a very heavy responsibility, which might be avoided by sending an orderly to Dublin.

By this orderly, who conveyed Colonel Campbell's despatch to town, my father sent a note to Mr. Cope, who instantly repaired to the castle of Dublin, and informed the secretary, *for the first time*, that it was my father who had enabled him to assist government. The consequence was an order to Colonel Campbell to deliver him up to a king's messenger, who was sent to Athy for that purpose, and to provide a strong escort to convey him as a state prisoner to Dublin.

In order to show how well grounded were the hopes of the United Irishmen that he would perish by order of the military tribunal, into whose hands they now thrust him, and the imminent peril he was in, from the cruel and unfeeling animosity of those soldier-judges towards all whom they considered as the popular party, I shall here recount one or two of the proceedings of this same military corps, then forming the garrison and court-martial of the Athy district.

James Deegan, a tailor, desirous of quitting the town,

perhaps from fear, or conscious of having cause to fear, and not being able to procure a pass, dressed himself in his wife's clothes, and at six o'clock in the morning set off in a returning market-cart. The guard at the turnpike-gate saw through his disguise, arrested and conducted him to the prevot-chamber of the permanent court-martial. He was led before the court at eight o'clock, found guilty of disguising himself, and before nine he was hanged in his female attire: no crime was attempted to be proved but the fact of his disguise.

Sir Edward Crosbie, a gentleman of rank and fortune, had, from the mildness of his disposition, and his kind consideration for the labouring classes around him, greatly conciliated their affections. He had also as a magistrate disapproved of, and frequently opposed, the more harsh and coercive measures of his brother magistrates. He had given way to that tide of theoretic politics, which very many speculative men had not sufficient judgment to correct, or duplicity to conceal, although they might utterly abhor the consequences of any attempt to reduce such theories into practice by force of arms; their effect on Sir Edward was to render him an anti-ministerialist. These circumstances made him be looked upon by government with an eye of suspicion, and considered by the military as a rebel, while the lower classes looked to him as a friend and protector. When the Rebellion broke out, the people around him arose like their neighbours; but, having no leader, they thought they could not do better than apply to their friend and benefactor. They therefore

assembled, to the number of about 1500 men, on his lawn at two o'clock in the morning of the 25th of May, and demanded that he should head them: but neither threats nor entreaties had any effect on him; he absolutely refused to accompany, to counsel, to aid, or abet them in any manner. Finding that they could not succeed, they chose one Heydon as their leader, and proceeded directly to attack the town of Carlow, not two miles distant, from whence they were repulsed with great slaughter. This Heydon was a yeoman of Sir Charles Burton's troop, which formed part of the garrison of Carlow. On finding that those whom he had conducted into the town were totally defeated, he abandoned them, threw himself into the ranks of his corps, and joined in the slaughter of his recent followers. He did not, however, escape the fate he merited. He was seized, tried, and hanged immediately after the repulse. Sir Edward Crosbie remained quietly at home, not taking the slightest part one way or the other. This neutrality was his crime; he was quickly arrested by order of Colonel Mahon of the 9th dragoons, who then commanded in Carlow, and brought before a court-martial formed of Captain Martin, three lieutenants, and one cornet, all of the 9th dragoons, and seven lieutenants and ensigns of the militia then in the place. They had no judge-advocate, nor any persons to guide their proceedings. It was afterwards affirmed on oath that one George Lucas, Mary Hutchinson, and several other Protestant loyalists, presented themselves as witnesses in his favour, but were prevented, by military force, from entering the court, although called for by

the crier, and although praying to be let in. It has also been affirmed on oath that certain persons named in the affidavit, who were in arrest as United Irishmen, were flogged, to make them give evidence against him, and were promised their lives and liberty on that sole condition. He was condemned to be hanged. Immediately after the trial Lady Crosbie, with these affidavits in her hand, presented herself to Colonel Mahon, as commanding officer, solemnly protesting against the sentence, and demanding a delay of execution. "Good God! Madam," said he, "are you quite certain of what you say?" "I am, Sir," said she; "here are the affidavits of the persons named." Notwithstanding this formal and solemn notice to Colonel Mahon, the sentence was executed with scandalous precipitation, and attended by atrocious circumstances, shocking to decency, and not at all warranted by that sentence.

Lady Crosbie, desirous of clearing her husband's fame, and of obtaining justice against his murderers, applied for a copy of the proceedings, which was refused her; and the insults offered to her by the military became so alarming, that these, together with a midnight visit from Colonel Mahon and a party of his dragoons, on a frivolous pretence, excited such apprehensions for her own safety, that she left the country, and fled for refuge to England. A pamphlet containing a narrative of this trial, and the events which led to it, was soon afterwards published by her friends, and never was refuted. To that pamphlet I refer those who desire further information on the subject.

Morice Keatinge, of Narraghmore, in the county

of Kildare, was colonel of a regiment of the line, a gentleman of large fortune, and member of Parliament for the county. He was a friend of the Leinster family, attached to their interests, and professed similar political opinions, which were purely those of the constitutional Whig party. He of course was said, like the Leinster family, to be a friend to the people, and to be opposed to the Beresford family, who then guided and governed the councils of the Irish executive government. His seat at Narraghmore was a fine mansion, newly finished, and furnished at a vast expense. His sister, a young lady of handsome person and accomplished manners, presided there, and, residing much in the country, had acquired a taste for field-sports, and was an excellent horsewoman. It was said, I know not with what truth, that on the day on which the Rebellion broke out Miss Keatinge appeared on horseback at the head of a great body of rebels, accompanied by a Mr. Johnstone, an apothecary, who attended her family, and who resided in the village of Narraghmore, and that she presented to the rebels a standard, on which was embroidered some symbols and verses appropriate to their views in rising. These reports, whether true or false, chimed well with the prejudices and wishes of those then in power in the county. However that may be, Miss Keatinge remained quietly living in the bosom of her family, and Mr. Johnstone was as usual attending to the concerns of his shop, when a body of the 9th dragoons, and some infantry, were sent from Athy to take military possession of Colonel Keatinge's house.

Curiosity led Mr. Johnstone to his shop door to see these troops pass through the village; he was directly siezed, dragged out into the road, abused, and beaten. He demanded to be heard,—he asked his crime,—he begged for mercy,—he entreated the officers to save him from the fury of their men. The officers turned from him and went aside, leaving him to be disposed of by the soldiers, who now formed a ring around him, stabbing him with their bayonets as he ran from side to side imploring compassion, until at length the unhappy man fell exhausted and covered with wounds, and was then despatched by those ruffianly murderers. My two uncles, Edward and Henry Witherington, were of this party, which they both described as I have related it, and Henry has frequently related the scene with tears in his eyes. They then proceeded to the mansion-house. Colonel Keatinge was absent with his regiment; his sister was at the house of her uncle, Dean Keatinge, about a quarter of a mile from her brother's mansion, the lower part of which was entirely shut up, as was that of every house in the county. No soul was in it except a Mr. Carrol, a friend of the family, who had dined the previous day at Dean Keatinge's, and went to pass the night in the mansion, with the intention of returning to his home the next day. The troops fired on the house as they advanced in front. Mr. Carrol ran out through a back door to escape, but they saw and shot him dead. They then destroyed the mansion, and everything it contained. The widow of Dean Keatinge visited my

father's family some years afterwards in London, and very fully described the particulars of this scene of death and destruction, which the actors and instigators attempted to justify by asserting that a shot had been fired on them as they advanced by some one in the mansion. But that assertion is evidently false; Mr. Carrol, the only inmate, ran out; could it be possible that one man would dare to fire on a troop of dragoons and a company of infantry? and that too when he could not suppose they intended harm to him or his property!!

I merely relate these facts to show the precipitancy and blind fury with which the troops then acted, and how very unfit they were to sit as judges of the conduct of such as were charged with being United Irishmen. The officers considered themselves, and in fact were, mere partisans, armed for the destruction of all those who aided, or were suspected of being inclined to aid, the rebels. The 9th dragoons, who principally supplied the officers composing the courts-martial of the Athy district, were likewise the chief actors in the scenes I have described. My father's fate was certain if tried by such men, and of this the county committee were well aware when they ordered their five associates to impeach him.

On receipt of the order from Dublin, Colonel Campbell sent my father off for that city, under a very strong escort of dragoons. There were three post-chaises: the King's messenger, who had returned with the orderly, was with my father in one chaise; my father's

valet, and the five United Irish evidences, were in the other two. Colonel Campbell was not at all aware of his real position, and he sent up these men in the persuasion that they were to give evidence against him in Dublin. On my father's arrival he was conducted to the office of the secretary of state, where he was brought before the Earl of Clare, who was then Chancellor of Ireland, and Mr. Edward Cooke, the under-secretary of state. Many regrets and apologies were made for the treatment he had received; all of which, particularly the free quartering, he strongly represented. They pleaded the fact of their ignorance of his real position with regard to Mr. Cope, in which case they said he should never have been molested, but that he was now at liberty and entitled to every protection. They said, however, that they could not answer for protecting him from the violence of the United Irishmen, to whom his immediate enlargement would be a confirmation of his having some connexion with government, which, though at present generally suspected, was nevertheless still doubtful with the public. Mr. Foster, who was then the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, came into the room during the conversation. He said he had been riding on the circular road, that he was there told of my father's arrival, and, from what he heard, he said it would be very unwise in him to pass one hour unguarded in Dublin. It was therefore determined that for the present he should go to a house in Castle-street, fronting the guard-room, the

messenger accompanying him as if still in custody, and there pass the night under the protection of the Castle guard.

The ministry, whose interest it was that my father should openly join the government against the United Irishmen, were not from this time very scrupulous in whispering about that he was already connected with them. They were desirous of committing him in such a manner as to render it impossible for him to recede. Had any idea of this kind occurred to him or his friends at the moment, it is more than probable that he would have refused to join them, let the consequences be what they might: but it was in England, after many years had elapsed, that he learnt this fact, in conversation with Mr. Edward Cooke on the events of 1798.

When at his lodgings, he sent for several of his friends, from whom he heard that the United Irishmen were resolved, at all hazards, to attempt his destruction; that it was by their orders that the five men had deposed against him; that these matters, and his arrest, had been publicly talked of several days before the arrest had really taken place; and that, in order the more to prejudice the public mind against him, the most infamous calumnies were circulated against his reputation, as well moral as political; that his uncle, Thomas Fitzgerald of Geraldine, was also arrested, and in Dublin; and that his grandfather, Thomas Fitzgerald of Kilmead, a quiet, loyal gentleman, upwards of 80 years old, was implicated, and in great danger, on account of some pike-heads which were found in his

garden, where they had been hidden by some of his people without his knowledge. At that day suspicion was little less fatal than real guilt, so that Mr. Fitzgerald's danger was eminent, the more so, as he was the friend and relation of the Duke of Leinster.

The friends and partisans of the United Irishmen have accused my father of having been employed as a spy by government, and of having insinuated himself into the confidence of the United Irishmen for the purpose of betraying them. I trust that this narrative has proved the total falsehood of such a charge. So far from seeking the confidence of the United Irishmen, I have shown that he broke off his connexion with them in the early part of 1797, quitted Dublin, and retired into the country, abandoning politics and political connexions; that their leader, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, sought him out, forced a partial confidence upon him, and, in consequence of his family influence, supported by the exhortations of Oliver Bond, compelled him to renew his connexion with these men; that when, in 1798, in consequence of his half-extorted consent to act for a time for Lord Edward Fitzgerald, he was elected colonel for the barony of Kilkea and Moone, and informed *for the first time* of the full extent of the purposes and preparations of the conspirators, he declined to attend their meetings, and endeavoured to persuade them to abandon or modify their criminal designs. If he had been a spy of government, would he have sent excuses to the provincial committees of the 19th of February and 12th of March, where the

highest and most important information was to be had? Would the government, in whose pay he has been accused of having enlisted himself, have permitted him, their agent, to absent himself from these most important meetings? Would he have preached against the Association publicly in the Catholic chapel at Mageny Bridge? Would he have been so forward to abdicate his post of treasurer and colonel, thereby cutting off every possible communication with the United Irishmen? Would the government have sent their troops to destroy his house and property, grossly insult his person, torture his servants to make them give information against him, and finally, after committing him to a common gaol, drag him like a felon through that county in which his ancestors had resided for ages in affluence and consideration? Yet all these facts are on record; they were proved before the highest tribunals of my country.

But it may be asserted that, although not at first in the employment of the administration, he became so after his communications with Mr. Cope, and that he had from the first been preparing himself for the purpose of betraying his companions in crime. But is such a supposition consistent, not to say with the circumstances which I have here related, but with the facts as they stand admitted by his opponents, the friends of the United Irishmen? If any intention of betraying his friends had pre-existed in his mind, is it conceivable that he would break off his connexion with them at the moment when he was about to obtain the

most perfect knowledge of all their hopes and of all their schemes—that he would have excused himself from attending the meeting of the 19th of February, at which he had reason to expect to obtain the fullest confirmation of the statements made by Cummings and Daly? If he had committed so gross an error on the eve of his becoming the hired agent of the Irish government, is it conceivable that his employers would have themselves fallen into a similar error, by not directing him to attend the meeting of the 12th of March, by his attendance on which alone they could at that time expect to procure sufficient evidence to discover the details of the plot and convict the conspirators; evidence which they were afterwards compelled to seek, and to obtain less effectually, by the employment of Captain Armstrong, of the King's County militia, to betray the counsels of the two brothers Sheares? Let the circumstances be fully and dispassionately examined, and, whether the whole of the facts as herein related by me, or the more limited circumstances hitherto before the public, and admitted to be true by his opponents, be taken into consideration, it must be apparent, not only that my father's conduct was not that which would have been adopted by the hired agent of the government of that day, but that in what he did he was influenced by some other motive than the hope or expectation of any reward, other than the approval of a good conscience.

If any doubt could be entertained upon the subject, would that most cautious statesman Lord Castlereagh,

ten years afterwards, when he was secretary of state in England, have committed himself by giving my father a written declaration of what I assert? and would the Marquis of Camden, the Earl of Chichester, and the Viscount Carleton, eight years afterwards, have joined in that declaration, expressing their readiness to confirm every word of Lord Castlereagh's letter, as will be seen in the documents hereinafter set forth?

Having been led by misrepresentations to afford his countenance to a society, apparently associated for far different purposes than those which they at last avowed, my father felt it to be his duty to his country to endeavour to prevent the calamities with which that society threatened the kingdom; to arrest the hand of the murderer and the robber; to save the lives of many of the most loyal, noble, and respectable men in Ireland; and to preserve his country from revolution and submission to France. Such was his crime.

The United Irishmen, having prevailed with him, as they avow that they did with thousands, to join them, by the false pretence of seeking Roman Catholic Emancipation and Reform in Parliament, in a manner which had been so frequently and so successfully practised in Ireland by all parties, as almost to have become the constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of grievances,—when they perceived that they had induced him to go such lengths with them that retreat was impossible,—when, in the words of Samuel Neilson, they thought that "he knew too much to stop,"—revealed the full extent and malignity of their designs to him;

they then found that he would not wade with them through fire and blood to revolution and annexation to France, and repeatedly attempted to rid themselves of him by private assassination. Even after they had themselves delivered him into the hands of government, they still loudly declared their determination to effect their purpose, "were it necessary to pull down the strongest house in Dublin to get at him." They had invented and published the most wicked calumnies respecting him, accusing him of crimes which, if credited or uncontradicted, ought to render him an outcast from all civil society, and to make him amenable to the severest punishments inflicted by the law. Hoping at one blow to effect the total destruction of him and of his family, they caused five of their own body to denounce him, thus hoping to procure his immediate execution under martial law, as a traitor to that country which he was endeavouring to save from their murderous and revolutionary designs; leaving his name stigmatised as a traitor by all loyal men, hated as an apostate by the United Irishmen, and detested by every man as the basest, the foulest, and most abandoned criminal. Such were the injuries heaped upon him by the conspirators, and from which it was his paramount duty to defend himself, whatever might be the result to his defamers.

After mature deliberation, these considerations caused his friends to advise him to take an open and decided part with government, to enable the administration to bring these men to trial, and to appear him-

self as a witness against them. Government would thus be enabled to crush the conspiracy, which seemed again to be reviving. The conspirators, who had now been nearly two months in prison, found that government had no effectual evidence against them, and were acting by their agents with nearly as much effect as when at large: by bringing them to justice the country would in all probability be saved from the horrors of civil war, and my father would have an opportunity of meeting and refuting the calumnies circulated against him. Such were the arguments used by my father's friends, among whom were many men of all parties, and it must be acknowledged that arguments like these carried great weight.*

In a moment of great civil commotion, no man can remain neuter: he who attempts it will infallibly be

* Mr. Gifford, in his Life of Pitt, after stating the successful exertions of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Oliver Bond to induce my father to join the United Irish Society, and to accept of the offices of treasurer and delegate for the county of Kildare, says, "Mr. Reynolds soon discovered that the conspirators, instead of intending to reform the abuses of the state, and to abolish all religious distinctions, which was their professed object at first, meditated *the subversion of the constitution, the massacre of the leading members of the government, and of such persons as should oppose their designs*, and therefore he resolved to frustrate their plans by embracing the first opportunity of communicating them to some person in whom he could confide." The writer then goes on to detail the communication my father made to Mr. Cope, with the conditions just as I have stated them, and adds, "The rebels defeated their own object by attacking the character and conduct of Mr. Reynolds, since by so doing they effectually removed those scruples which he had hitherto cherished, and made him resolve to stand publicly forth to reveal their plots to the world, and bring them to condign punishment." (See vol. 5, pages 447—9, and 451, 2.)

crushed by the contending factions. The fate of Sir Edward Crosbie, which I have just related, and that of Mr. Spencer of Rathangan, which I shall presently recount, are sad instances of the truth of this remark. Every man must adopt one party or the other. At the moment my father was hurrying from the kingdom the United Irishmen forced him to take a decided part against them; but, even in so doing, it will presently be seen that he never for a moment lost sight of their safety, and that, while he cleared his own reputation and saved his country, he saved them also.

The following morning his friends were with him again, when he received a message from Mr. Cooke, desiring to see him. He found with him the Earl of Clare, who from his early days had been the intimate friend of the parents and family of my mother, and to whom my father was of course well known, also Lord Castlereagh, who then acted as secretary of state in aid of Mr. Pelham (Earl of Chichester), who was in a delicate state of health, and who then held that appointment. A long conversation took place, in the course of which it was explained to my father that it was by no means the wish of government to punish those in confinement capitally, but that it was now very evident that peace and order could not be restored while they remained in the kingdom within reach of their associates; their intrigues, though in prison, being nearly as extensive and as destructive as when they were at large. Their friends, and they had several, even in the parliaments as well of England as

of Ireland, cried out violently on account of their detention, denying even the existence of the conspiracy; asserting that the whole was a matter got up by government and its agents, and persisting in these assertions with an obstinacy which nothing but the most open and unquestionable evidence could silence. To obtain that evidence, and to afford such public and authentic proofs as should convince the whole empire, was a very important object in bringing them to trial, as well as to put an end to the conspiracy, and re-establish peace and good order in the kingdom. It was therefore proposed that, if my father would appear as witness against the rebels, all those who should be convicted upon his evidence should be spared in their lives and fortunes, on acknowledging their guilt, making a full and complete disclosure of what they might know of the means and purposes of the conspiracy, and consenting to banish themselves from the British dominions; and that their associates in gaol might also, if they thought proper, avail themselves of these terms of mercy, and prevent prosecutions by similar avowals; thus placing every man's fate at his own disposal. Subsequently, when the leaders, finding the evidence incontrovertible, thought it prudent to avail themselves of these terms, a sort of treaty was framed through the agency of Counsellor Dobbs, a gentleman with whom my father had had very extensive pecuniary transactions, and a friendly intercourse until the time of his death, which occurred twelve or fifteen years after the date of these troubles. By that

treaty, if we may so call it, it was agreed that no person should name, or in any manner inculpate, his associates in his disclosures, which should relate to facts and purposes, and not to their friends' names; and further that the terms should be extended to those persons not in confinement, who might choose to avail themselves of them; and the Rebellion being then quelled, many persons implicated in that affair did so, and thereby preserved themselves from further prosecution. Among them was Aylmer, the principal leader of the rebels of the county of Kildare. These persons obliged themselves to give every information they should be required to do, as to the transactions of the Society of United Irishmen, whether internal or with foreign powers, but they were not, by naming or describing, to implicate any other person, and on quitting Ireland they were not to pass into the country of any people at actual war with Great Britain. Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmet, William James M'Nevin, Samuel Neilson, and a few others, gave these details on oath before the Committees of the Lords and Commons, as may be seen by the records of those houses, and about eighty persons, who were then in Dublin prison, availed themselves of the arrangements, and signed the agreement.

My father demanded nothing but the free release of his uncle, Thomas Fitzgerald, and that all informations against him or against his grandfather should be annulled. This was freely conceded to him, and upon these conditions, and these alone, he gave that testi-

mony upon the three trials which so triumphantly refuted every calumny that slander could heap upon him.

I shall now say a few words on the most serious charge which has been brought against my father—that of his having stipulated with government for reward for the part he acted on this occasion.

In reply to this calumny I shall show, in the first place, that not only he never did stipulate or receive any reward, but that, on the contrary, he was much less favourably treated than any other person who suffered in the loyal cause on that occasion; and I shall afterwards show that, if reward had formed any part of his object, there was scarcely any so great that he could not have commanded; and his not having received any is the best answer to his calumniators.

The House of Commons passed a bill for making good the losses of such persons as suffered in their property by reason of their adherence to the royal cause during the Rebellion, and appointed a committee of their own House to receive and examine the claims of such persons, and to report them to the House. All claims were to be attested, after the manner set forth in the act, by a magistrate and a clergyman of the district. My father had drawn out a detailed account of the losses he sustained at Kilkea, from the day on which that castle was taken possession of by Captain Erskine and his military followers until the final sale of the residue of his property there after the Rebellion. This list or account was accompanied by all the requisite vouchers to prove the veracity of each item, and

was attested by a clergyman and a magistrate of the district, as directed by the act, and he delivered it, together with all the documents and vouchers, to Mr. Edward Cooke, who was then under-secretary of state. He also delivered an abstract of it to the Earl of Clare, who was then lord chancellor, and whom I believe to have been much interested in his welfare. It is as follows:—

	£.
Furniture, glasses, house-linen, clothes, chimney-pieces, grates, kitchen-furniture, glass, china, dead stock, &c. &c.	3,200
Three pianofortes, a harp, and other musical instruments	200
Wine, beer, and other liquors . .	1,200
Paintings and books	2,000
Crops on 350 acres	1,600
Cattle and grain furnished to the soldiers on receipts	630
Cattle and grain plundered . . .	430
Repairs of the castle, as before stated .	2,500
The loss of the lease, estimated at . .	8,000
	19,760

But these were but a part, and I may say a very small part, of his losses. He lost all succession from the senior members of his family, his grandfather, his uncles, and his aunts. He was driven from a cheap country, where he could have lived in affluence on his means, in the midst of his family and connexions, to the dearest country upon earth, where, among strangers,

he was to pay most extravagantly for a bare subsistence, where the poorest house cost him four times as much as the reserved rent of Kilkea Castle and its 350 acres of land. This forced absence injured and lost for him several outstanding properties; such, for instance, as the Corbetstown estate, held under Sir Duke Giffard, which was a beneficial lease for three lives, and forty-one years after the death of the last life, of 800 acres of land in the county of Meath, called Corbetstown, at 160*l.* a year rent, worth 910*l.* a year, leaving a clear income of 750*l.* This my father first mortgaged to trustees for the use of his marriage settlement for 3000*l.* He then mortgaged his equity of redemption to Cope and Jaffray for 7000*l.*, who, being on the spot, recovered their money; but my father, being absent, was baffled in his attempts to obtain possession of the estate until the three lives had fallen in and many years of the surplus time had expired; and he was at last compelled to abandon the lease to the heirs of Sir Duke Giffard, who were in possession, for 1750*l.*, in the year 1823, at which period the claim of the trustees of his marriage settlement, for interest and principal on the mortgage, exceeded 8000*l.* I could name other properties lost in a similar manner; but this instance suffices to show the fact of his continual losses.

After some delay Mr. Cooke acquainted my father that it was not thought advisable to send his claims before the Committee, but that another measure was under consideration, in which they would be more effectually attended to. What that measure was he

did not then explain, nor was my father made acquainted with it until the month of July, 1799, when, being with his family at a bathing-place in the north of England, he received a letter from Mr. Cooke, saying that a life annuity had been granted to him under the special authority of Parliament. The amount of this annuity, so far from replacing his losses at Kilkea, barely gave him 5 per cent. on the amount of those losses: he accordingly observed on this circumstance in his reply to Mr. Cooke, and soon after returned to Dublin, when he requested that his schedule, and the proofs and documents attached to it, might be laid fairly, and without favour, before the Committee of Parliament for the Relief of Suffering Loyalists, and there stand upon its own merits. His request was refused; but he learned that he had been recommended to the Duke of Portland to fill the situation of Governor of the Bahama Islands, an office which he thought proper to decline, as such an appointment would subject him to the reproach of having acted from interested motives, which, as they were furthest from his thoughts, so he had rejected and disclaimed them throughout. His refusal did not however prevent the report of his nomination from getting abroad, and it was soon after made public in the London opposition papers, but unnoticed either by my father, or by any one on his behalf.

After a few weeks' stay in Dublin, here turned with his family to establish his future residence in England, leaving his claims in this unsatisfactory state in the hands of Mr. Cooke. Sixteen or eighteen years sub-

sequently, when he wanted funds for some family purposes, he had this annuity estimated, and, though properties of that description had by that time very greatly increased in their value, even then it was not valued at two-thirds of the amount of his actual losses. When my father gave in a statement of his losses, he did so at the command of the secretary of state. Had that statement been delivered to the Committee appointed by Parliament to receive and report upon the claims of suffering loyalists, he would have been reimbursed like others; but Mr. Cooke and Lord Castlereagh prevented this, for obvious reasons. These claims arose out of the abuses committed in free quartering; the examination of such claims, to the amount of 18,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* *on one property*, might have been proved very inconvenient: the consequence was that *not a shilling has ever been paid to this day.*

For ten years after this he resided in a very retired manner in England, quite unemployed. The situations which he has since filled were conferred on him, not by ministers for his public services, then passed by, and I may say forgotten, but by his personal friends, out of their own peculiar patronage, and purely on account of the esteem and regard with which they honoured him, arising out of so many years' acquaintance with his character and conduct.* The first employment he ever held was at Lisbon in 1810.

Among the great number of documents in my pos-

* This will be made to appear hereafter from the correspondence of those kind and truly noble friends.

session, showing the honourable and disinterested manner in which my father acted throughout the Irish affairs, I have selected a few, which I insert in another part of this narrative, from the lord lieutenant, from two successive chief secretaries, from the judge who presided on some of the trials, and from others who had the best opportunities of judging of his motives, and whose declarations must be conclusive on these heads.

Having now shown that he did not act from sordid or selfish motives, and that he was not rewarded, I shall proceed to show that, had such motives influenced him, he could have commanded whatever he pleased to demand, on account of the advantages derived by ministers *personally* from his evidence. Those ministers had incurred a heavy responsibility by requiring the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and then proclaiming martial law on account of disturbances, which they themselves were (however unjustly) accused of having fomented. The gaols were crowded with persons against whom, although they had well-grounded suspicion, yet they could not produce any proof of guilt. Military and police agents, under the assumed authority of the executive government, filled the country with torturings, whippings, pitchcaps, thumbscrews, and picketings, in search of such evidence, but all to no purpose; none could be had, for this simple reason, that the conformation of the United Irish Association left it in no *one* man's power to give any extensive information. A depôt of arms might be found; a committee of fifteen or twenty men might be surprised, every man of whom might tell *all*

he knew, but that *all* amounted to just nothing; they were equally ignorant of the persons, the names, and the views of their leaders. Those very efforts to procure evidence, while they increased the responsibility of the ministers, added to the disbelief of the British Parliament and people as to the existence of a conspiracy to any extent that could justify their proceedings. The result of the trials at Maidstone completed the dilemma, and finally evinced the sentiments of the British nobility and Parliament. On those trials Charles James Fox, the Lord Chancellor Erskine, the Earl of Suffolk, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the Duke of Norfolk, Michael Angelo Taylor, Henry Grattan, the Earl of Thanet, the Earl of Oxford, Samuel Whitbread, Mr. Grey, Lord Lauderdale, and other men of the highest rank, talent, and influence in the empire, came forward in defence of the accused, declaring on oath their disbelief in their conspiracy, and that, from their long and intimate knowledge of the man who was accused as being the promoter of it, they were satisfied that his political principles and opinions did not in any respect differ from their own. The result of these trials is well known. James Quigley was found guilty; Arthur O'Connor, James Fivey, John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary were acquitted; but Arthur O'Connor was detained and sent a prisoner to Ireland on another charge connected with the United Irish Association. The execution of Quigley was represented as murder, and the detention of O'Connor was reprobated even in Parliament; yet this same O'Connor was

the mainspring, the prime leader of the conspiracy, and was then actually on his road to France, to concert with the rulers of that country the final measures for an invasion of Ireland to support the intended insurrection. Nothing short of the clearest and most palpable proof of the guilt of O'Connor could acquit the ministry and convince the world. The power, perhaps I might say the heads, of the ministers were then at stake. What reward could they refuse to the man who was to relieve them, the man who could not only prove the real existence of the conspiracy, but prove it on the heads of those very men they were accused of oppressing, and in behalf of whose innocence all England was up in clamour;—the man who was not only to enable them to justify all the arbitrary acts they had committed, but also to rivet them in power more firmly than ever,—what, I say, could or would ministers have refused to that man? Such was my father's situation in respect to the ministry at that moment; and to show that he and his friends, I mean those who actually came and advised with him at the moment, were fully aware of his importance, I need only say that among those friends were the head of the first banking-house in Ireland, one of the first merchants of the city of Dublin, and one of the first, if not the very first, law-agent in all Ireland. Such was the position of ministers and of my father with regard to each other at that day, and those ministers, and the lord lieutenant, and the privy council, ALL well knew that my father was fully aware of the fact.

When he was first brought before the privy council, there were present at least twenty of that body, with the Earl of Camden, who was lord lieutenant, Lord Clare, who was chancellor, and Lord Castlereagh, who was secretary of state. These three noblemen sat separate from the others, near the end of the table opposite to which end my father entered. Mr. Edward Cooke, the under secretary of state, stood leaning on the chimney-piece at the side of the room near this end of the table. A chair was placed for my father about half-way between the door and the table, about six feet from each, and fronting the centre of the end of the table, which was oblong, and about which the privy councillors sat. I mention these circumstances to show that all which passed was distinctly seen and heard by every one present.

My father was desired to be seated, and then asked his name. The tone and manner of addressing him, and several reports which had been made to him previously, had caused him to be rather in doubt regarding the sentiments of the ministers towards him; he therefore replied, "My name is Thomas Reynolds; I wish to know on what ground I appear here: am I to consider myself as the free, voluntary, protected friend of government, or am I supposed to be led here in consequence of charges or suspicions as a culprit?" Doctor Agar, Archbishop of Dublin, instantly began to answer him, by saying, "Mr. Reynolds, that must depend upon your——" Here his grace was stopped by Lord Clare, who said to him, rather petulantly, "My Lord,

you interrupt the business;" and then, turning to my father, desired him to withdraw for a while into the ante-chamber. He retired, and was quickly followed by Mr. Toler, who was then attorney-general (afterwards Lord Norbury). My father stood by the fire: Mr. Toler came up, and, placing his hand on the chimney-piece, and his foot on the fender, began, lawyer-like, to pump him as to his feelings and intentions, extolling the liberality and lenity of government. A little piqued at what he considered as trickery, my father told him he wanted nothing from government; that they, on the contrary, wanted everything from him; and, in a few words, pointed out to him the situation of ministers, as I have just described it. Affecting surprise, Mr. Toler said, "Very true, very true, and they will take care to do all, and more than all you wish. What do you ask, Mr. Reynolds?" "*Protection*, Mr. Toler, *nothing more!!*" was my father's reply. He did not speak one word more during some minutes that they still remained together. At length my father was called for, and Lord Clare immediately addressed him, saying, "Mr. Reynolds, I am commanded by the lord lieutenant to tell you that you are to consider yourself the free and protected friend of government."

Now, had my father's conduct been influenced by interested motives, he might have availed himself of the position of ministers to acquire for himself, and his family, rank, power, and affluence; whereas it is a fact, well known to all his acquaintances, and they were not few, that, from the day of his leaving Ireland, he was

obliged to curtail most of the enjoyments, and even the comforts, his family had possessed from the day of his marriage, and which his parents had enjoyed before him; and that, notwithstanding those curtailments, he was generally glad to seek the most retired and cheapest parts of England to reside in during the war, and to avail himself of the restoration of tranquillity to retire to the continent for the purposes of economy. These are incontrovertible facts which speak for themselves. Let the partisans of the United Irishmen answer them if they can.

CHAPTER VI.

Effect of the Arrests of the Provincial Committee — Martial Law proclaimed—Lord Edward Fitzgerald arrested—The two Brothers John and Henry Sheares taken—The Rising takes place—Dr. Esmond's Treachery — Skirmishes in several places— Atrocities committed at Rathangan—The Rebels repulsed at Carlow—And at the Hill of Tara —Rising in the County of Wexford— First Successes — Enniscorthy taken—Wexford surrenders to the Rebels—Alarm at Gorey —Rebels defeated at Newtownbarry—Colonel Walpole killed at Tubberneering —Sanguinary Battle at New Ross—Horrid Massacre at Scullabogue —Inactivity of the Rebels—Their signal Defeat at Arklow—Atrocities at Vinegar Hill—Battle of Vinegar Hill — Enniscorthy and Wexford retaken—Massacres in Wexford—Mathew Keugh, Father Philip Roche, Cornelius Grogan, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and others, taken and hanged.

1798.

The arrests at Oliver Bond's house on the 12th of March, and those still more numerous which took place in the city of Dublin on that and the following days, very materially weakened the conspiracy ; and, though the vacancies caused by those arrests were immediately filled up, yet the new leaders, having neither the experience nor the abilities of those to whose places they succeeded, soon found themselves quite inadequate to the task of directing the Association. Many districts had been put under martial law, vast quantities of arms were either seized or given up, and in many parts of the

north the peasants returned to their homes and usual occupations: still the conspiracy, though checked, was not put down. In Leinster and Munster large bodies of the insurgents were in arms, and continually harassing the peaceable inhabitants, till at last the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation, by which he gave Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the commander-in-chief of the forces, discretionary powers in all the disturbed districts. That general addressed a manifesto to the people, dated the 3rd of April, requiring them, under pain of military execution, to deliver up their arms within ten days; and promising secrecy and reward to all who would give information. At the expiration of the promised delay, his threats were put in force. The troops were quartered on the houses of the disaffected or suspected. Many houses were pillaged or burnt, under pretext of seeking for arms. Picketings, floggings, and other modes of torture, were applied to extort confessions, and the people were so constantly harassed, that very many, especially in the counties of Kildare and Tipperary, returned to their allegiance, and gave up their arms and ammunition, so that the chiefs, fearing a total disorganization, resolved to try an immediate rising, without waiting, as they had intended, the arrival of their French auxiliaries. The military committee accordingly fixed on the night of the 23rd of May for the commencement of the insurrection.

The executive government, aware of the intended rising, thought fit, as a necessary precaution, to arrest many of the leading members of the Union. Among

them was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been in concealment since the arrests at Oliver Bond's house two months previously. That nobleman had been an officer in the army, where he had been highly esteemed for his military conduct, his honour, humanity, and courage. He had served in the 19th regiment, and afterwards in the 54th, of which he was major in November, 1791, when Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce of that regiment died. Lord Edward expected to have succeeded to the commission; but it was given to Colonel Strutt. Lord Edward, disappointed in his expectations, went to Paris, where he unfortunately made himself rather conspicuous as an advocate for the principles of the French revolution; the consequence was, that his name was struck off the list of the army; but he was afterwards allowed to sell his commission. From that time he became a violent opposer of the British government, and, when at last he joined the United Irishmen, his rank, his enthusiastic courage, and his active spirit, naturally pointed him out as a leader of the party. On the 11th of May a proclamation was issued, offering 1000*l.* reward for his apprehension, and on the 19th he was arrested in Thomas-street, at the house of Nicholas Murphy, a feather-merchant. The particulars of his arrest will be found in a subsequent chapter, when I shall have to make a few observations on Mr. Moore's History of his Life.

Several other arrests were made on the 19th and 21st of May: among others, Henry and John Sheares were taken. These two unfortunate brothers, who after-

wards paid the forfeit of their lives to the outraged laws of their country, had been raised to the fatal eminence of directors, in order to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the arrests of the 12th of March. They were generally believed to have been naturally humane and kind-hearted men; yet the following manifesto, found in the house of Henry Sheares, and in the hand-writing of his brother; and which was evidently intended for publication after the capital should have been in the possession of the conspirators, betrays such sanguinary sentiments, as furnish an additional proof of the spirit of revenge and cruelty of their party, which could thus induce these men to think of publishing a document recommending measures so repugnant to their natural dispositions.

"Irishmen, your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile government which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in your hands. The national flag, the sacred green, is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism; and that capital which a few hours past had witnessed the debauchery, the plots, and the crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise, then, united sons of Ireland, arise like a great and powerful people, determined to be free or die. Arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider that, for every enemy you disarm, you arm a friend, and thus become doubly

powerful. In the cause of liberty, inaction is cowardice; and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be secured, and transferred to those gallant spirits who want, and will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear, by that Eternal Justice in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or hereafter shall fall in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful nation an ample recompense out of that property which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands, and his name shall be inscribed on the great national record of Irish revolution as a glorious example to all posterity; but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy. We also swear that we will never sheath the sword till every being in the country is restored to those equal rights which the God of nature has given to all men; until an order of things shall be established in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin but that of virtue and talent. As for those degenerate wretches who turn their swords against their native country, the national vengeance awaits them. Let them find no quarter, unless they shall prove their repentance by speedily exchanging the standard of slavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may share the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland. Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breasts, and

have joined the national standard. Receive with open arms such as shall follow so glorious an example: they can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But for the wretch who turns his sword against his native country, let the national vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand * * * * Rouse all the energies of your souls; call forth all the merit and abilities which a vicious government consigned to obscurity; and, under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory. Heed not the glare of hired soldiery, or aristocratic yeomanry: they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freedom; their trappings and their arms will soon be yours; and the detested government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn that the treasures it exhausts on its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head. Attack them in every direction by day and by night: avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are better acquainted than they. When you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks; cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces; let whatever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your country be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone, must occupy every mind and

every hand in Ireland, until its long oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies. Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your oppressors! Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their merciless orders. Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. Remember Orr!"

The plan laid down by the rebels for the beginning of the insurrection, which was fortunately frustrated by the active measures of the government, was a simultaneous attack on the troops encamped at Laughlinstown, on the artillery at Chapelizod, and on several parts of Dublin, especially on the castle. The signal was to be given to the distant parts of the kingdom by the detention of the coaches on the great roads; and, as notice of the plan had been circulated through the different committees, it was expected that the rising would be very general. But, the plot being discovered on the 21st of May, the government were enabled to preserve the peace in Dublin. In the neighbouring counties however, the insurgents obeyed the call of their leaders in considerable numbers. The mail-coaches on the northern and western roads were destroyed on the night of the 23rd of May, the former at Santry, the latter between Lucan and Leixlip; and, during that night and the following day, the towns of Naas, Clane, Prosperous, Ballymore-Eustace, Kilcullen, Carlow, and Monastereven, were attacked by the rebels. Skirmishes took place also at Rathfarnham, Tallagh, Lucan, Lusk, Dunboyne, Barretstown, Collon, Baltin-

glass, Dunlavin, Kildare, Rathangan, Kilcock, and Ovietstown. In all these engagements the rebels were defeated with considerable loss, except those of Dunboyne and Barretstown. The attack on Prosperous was marked by an act of the most infamous treachery. Doctor John Esmond was a Roman Catholic physician and accoucheur, a man of good fortune and of high family connexion, and a lieutenant in Mr. Griffiths' troop of yeoman cavalry, then stationed at Clane. Not far from his residence was the small town of Prosperous, where a considerable cotton manufactory was established. It was occupied by twenty-eight of the Cork militia, and nine of a regiment of Welsh cavalry, called the Ancient Britons, the whole commanded by Lieutenant Swaine. Esmond was on an intimate footing with Lieutenant Swaine, who frequently dined at his house, from which circumstance, combined with his rank in society, his situation of lieutenant of yeomanry, and his profession, which obliged him to be out at all hours of the night, he found no difficulty in obtaining the password from Swaine, who dined with him on the 23rd of May. Thus provided, at one o'clock in the morning of the 24th, at the head of a large body of rebels, he surprised his friend, and burned him and all his men in their quarters. He then seized two gentlemen, residents of the town, a Mr. Stamer and a Mr. Brewer, and an old man who had been a serjeant in the line; these he murdered with deliberate cruelty, and mangled their bodies in a horrid manner. His further proceedings were stopped

by the approach of a body of troops, on which he fled from the place and his followers dispersed. The troops who thus alarmed him were the yeoman cavalry of Mr. Griffiths, who, in conjunction with forty of the Armagh militia, had repulsed an attack of the rebels at Clane, and pursued them almost to Prosperous. Esmond, flattering himself that the atrocities he had committed in the night were unknown, took his place in his troop next morning; but Captain Griffiths had already been apprized of the share he had taken in that horrible affair, and, without seeming to notice him, he marched his whole troop into the town of Naas, from whence the rebels had been repulsed that morning. When opposite to the gaol, he halted, and ordered Lieutenant Esmond to advance. Flight and resistance were now equally in vain; he was handed over to the gaoler, sent to Dublin, and there, after a deliberate and protracted trial, he was condemned, and hanged on the New Bridge, with his uniform coat turned inside out upon him.

The town of Naas was attacked at three o'clock in the morning of the 24th by Michael Reynolds, at the head of a body of about a thousand rebels. The town was garrisoned by detachments of the 4th dragoon-guards, the Ancient Britons, and the Armagh militia, under the command of Viscount Gosford, their colonel. The rebels directed their first attack on the gaol, but, being repulsed with loss, they possessed themselves of the principal avenues of the town, and fought desperately, but very irregularly, for nearly an hour, when

they began to give way, and at length fled on all sides, pursued and slaughtered by the cavalry. Their loss was thirty men killed in the assault, and above one hundred more in the pursuit; the numbers wounded have never been stated, but they must have been very numerous. Of the king's troops, there were two officers and seventeen privates killed, and several wounded. Michael Reynolds escaped unhurt, and on the 25th of the following month was killed at the head of a band of his misguided followers, whom he was leading to the attack at Hacketstown.

On the evening of the 24th large bodies of the rebels approached the town of Rathangan; but Captain Langton, who was quartered there with a company of the South Cork militia, kept them in check during the night, after several skirmishes. Next day, in pursuance of his orders, he marched with his troop from Rathangan to join General Dundas, who had been compelled to evacuate Kilkullen, after losing Captains Erskine and Cooke, and several of his men. The inhabitants of Rathangan, thus abandoned to their resources, remained under arms all night between the 25th and 26th, expecting every moment to be attacked. But the rebels did not make their appearance till the morning of the 26th, when they entered the town in such numbers as to render all attempts to oppose them hopeless. Among the numerous atrocities which they committed during the short time they remained in possession of the place, the following deserves to be more particularly noticed. Mr. Spenser was a magistrate, and

agent to the Duke of Leinster, a man of large landed property, deservedly esteemed and respected by the whole county. Such was his confidence in the rectitude of his own conduct, and in the love and attachment of his neighbours, that he did not consider it necessary to retire to any place of security, or to intermit his usual occupations, or the care of the vast properties intrusted to his management; and, notwithstanding the outrageous scenes going on around him, he remained peaceably at Rathangan, with his wife and two daughters, one of whom was married to the Honourable and Reverend Mr. Pomeroy, son of Lord Harburton. Mr. Pomeroy also remained with his father-in-law. No precautions were taken for defence, all was open at the house as in times of perfect tranquillity, and, until the day of actual rebellion, the peaceable appearance of Rathangan and its neighbourhood seemed to justify Mr. Spenser's conduct. But, when at length that fatal day arrived, all feelings of gratitude and humanity were at once obliterated in the minds of men so long prepared for every outrage. A band of infuriated ruffians entered the lawn in front of the house. The family were at breakfast. Mr. Spenser rose from table, went to the hall-door, and kindly asked them what he could do for them; supposing, or pretending to suppose, that they were come to require his services as a magistrate. They instantly seized him, saying that they were now come to do for him, threw him down upon the steps of the door, and sawed off his head with a cross-cut saw! They then went into the

parlour, laid the head upon the breakfast-table, helped themselves to what they pleased in the house, and, going away, took the head, and kicked it like a foot-ball about the lawn till no more of it remained. They then departed, leaving the rest of the family unmolested. Mr. Spenser was upwards of seventy years of age; he had almost entirely built the town of Rathangan, had rendered it and its neighbourhood more wealthy and independent than any other district of the county, and had passed the whole of his long life in doing acts of kindness to all around him; yet such was the return he at length met with from those he had so long befriended.

Another instance of their barbarous fanaticism was shown in their treatment of Michael Shenstone, a quiet inoffensive man, whose only crime was his being a Protestant. They dragged him from his house into the street, where they attacked him with such deadly malignity, that in a moment he received eighteen stabs of pikes. As he still showed some signs of life, a woman named Farrel, who was infamously active in this and similar sanguinary deeds, tauntingly reproached the murderers with not knowing how to kill Orangemen; on which a ruffian stepped forward and fired his pistol close to Shenstone's head: the ball entered near the ear, and came out under the eye, having fractured the cheek-bone in a most shocking manner. Some hours afterwards he was put into a cart with the bodies of seventeen other Protestants, who

had been murdered, and driven to the churchyard for interment; but, some alarm having prevented the burial, he remained all that night in the cart among the dead. Next morning his wife got possession of his body, with the intention of burying it decently, but, having observed some signs of remaining life, she procured assistance, and he recovered after several months' intense suffering. These atrocities were not confined to Rathangan, but were common to all places attacked by the rebels; their passage was marked by murders, burnings, pillage, and every species of violence. The annals of those unhappy times furnish volumes of crime and wretchedness too disgusting to be detailed; and, in selecting a few here and there, my design is to show the true character of the Rebellion, and to give my reader some idea of the demoralization and depravity of the people who could commit, and of the leaders who could encourage them in, such horrid barbarity.

The town of Carlow was attacked by three or four thousand insurgents on the morning of the 25th of May. The garrison consisted of four hundred and fifty men of different corps, under the command of Colonel Mahon, of the 9th dragoons, by whose judicious arrangements the rebels were repulsed with the loss of five or six hundred men. Numbers took refuge in the houses of their associates in the town, but the soldiers immediately set fire to them, and thus upwards of eighty houses were burnt to the ground. After the defeat executions commenced, and in a few

days about two hundred persons were hanged or shot by martial law. Among others, Sir Edward Crosbie perished at this time. He was certainly innocent of the crime for which he suffered, as is to-day acknowledged on all hands, whatever may have been his politics. Another who deservedly suffered was Heydon, a yeoman of Sir Charles Burton's troop. He was the leader of the rebels, but on their discomfiture he abandoned them, and, having resumed his place as a yeoman, actually joined in the pursuit and slaughter of the assailants.

On the 26th of May the rebels in the county of Meath, after committing numerous outrages, assembled in a body of upwards of three thousand men on the hill of Tarah, about eighteen miles from Dublin, where they were attacked by three companies of the Reay Fencibles, with a field-piece, commanded by Captains Preston and Maclean; aided by Lord Fingall's troop of yeoman cavalry, and Captain Molloy's company of yeoman infantry. The rebels kept their ground for about half an hour, when they gave way and were completely routed, leaving four hundred men dead on the field. This victory was of incalculable importance, for, had the rebels gained the day, or had they been left a few days longer undisturbed, it is more than probable that the insurrection would have spread through Munster, and a great part of Ulster, and it is impossible to conjecture what might have been the result. Two days after this defeat, the rebels, who had kept possession of Rathangan, were dis-

lodged, with the loss of sixty men, by Lieutenant-Colonel Longfield of the royal Cork militia.

These victories checked the rebellion in the neighbourhood of Dublin, which had for some days actually sustained a species of blockade. The communications on the great roads were once more opened; the loyal inhabitants of Dublin and the neighbourhood acquired a degree of confidence, which they had at first lost by reason of the suddenness of the rising; and many of the rebels, discouraged by their defeats, sought to retire in safety to their homes, and resume their domestic occupations. On the 28th of May, Perkins, a rebel chief, who was then at the head of two thousand men at Knockawlin Hill, on the border of the Curragh of Kildare, sent to Lieutenant-General Dundas an offer, purporting that his men should surrender their arms, provided they might be allowed to retire unmolested to their homes, and that Perkins' brother should be released from Naas gaol. This offer was accepted, and the men accordingly dispersed joyfully, having surrendered thirteen cart-loads of pikes.

Three days afterwards another body of the rebels had assembled on the Curragh, for the purpose of surrendering, according to an agreement made with General Dundas, when a company of fencible cavalry treacherously fired upon them, and, pursuing them as they fled in all directions, massacred about two hundred of them. It was attempted to excuse this bloody deed by saying that the insurgents had fired first upon the troops, but there is neither truth nor probability in the

assertion, and the facts were well known at the time to have been otherwise, however desirable it may have been to palliate the affair.

While by these successive defeats the rebellion seemed entirely put down in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where it had first broken out, it burst forth with increased energy in a part of the country where it was least expected, and very soon increased to such an extent as to occasion universal and serious alarm. On the 26th of May the standard of rebellion was raised by Father John Murphy, priest of Boulavogue, between Gorey and Wexford. As the county of Wexford was known to be but very partially organized, and many of its Roman Catholic inhabitants had voted an address to the lord lieutenant, declaring their loyalty, and offering to arm in defence of the laws, the government had not more than six hundred men stationed in that county, so that they were ill prepared to oppose any serious rising. As soon as it was known that a priest had placed himself at the head of the insurgents, the people flocked to him in such numbers that by the morning of the 27th two large bodies were collected, one on the hill of Oulart, about eleven miles south of Gorey, and another on Kilthomas hill, about nine miles to the west of that town. These bodies were composed of six or seven thousand armed men, and a vast number of women and children. It is fair to add that the numbers of the insurgents were much increased by the injudicious conduct of some of the yeomen, who, on the first intelligence of Father Murphy's proceedings, went

out in parties, and shot many persons who were on the roads, or in the fields, and even in their houses, unarmed and unoffending. The consequence was that numbers of Catholics, dreading a similar fate, left their homes and joined their friends in arms.

At the same time the conduct of the rebels was marked by murder and outrage at every step. One of their first achievements was the attack of Lieutenant Bookey's house at Rockspring at one o'clock in the morning of the 27th. The only persons in the house when it was attacked were two Protestants, who defended it with the greatest bravery for several hours: at last the rebels set it on fire, and, as day was breaking they retired, leaving several of their friends dead in and about the house. After they had gone the two men escaped unhurt, but nearly suffocated by the smoke. They next attacked the house of the Rev. Robert Burrowes, of Kyle, murdered him and seven of his parishioners who had taken shelter there, desperately wounded his son, and burnt his house to the ground. His son languished till the summer of 1800, when he died. Another body of insurgents attacked the house of Mr. Dawson, of Charlesfort, which they plundered, after murdering a man of the name of Willis, and wounding Mr. Dawson. They then proceeded to the house of the Rev. Francis Turner of Ballingale, rector of Edeermine, which they burned after an obstinate resistance on the part of the inmates. Mr. Turner and nine of his friends were murdered with savage brutality by the rebels after they had

forced their way into the house. These are merely a few examples, taken at hazard, out of many in my possession, showing the character of the rebellion from its first outbreaking.

As I before said, the two main bodies of the rebels had taken their stations, early on the 27th, at Oulart and Kilthomas Hill. On that morning a body of between two and three hundred yeomen, cavalry and infantry, marched from Carnew to attack those who were stationed at the latter place. The rebels were posted on the summit of the hill, where they might have defended themselves with advantage; but the yeoman infantry, advancing intrepidly up the hill, and firing as they advanced, soon put the insurgents to flight. The rout was complete: the yeomen cavalry pursued the fugitives for upwards of seven miles, and killed about two hundred of them. At the same time they laid waste the country through which they passed, burning the houses and cabins of the Catholics. Two Romish chapels and more than a hundred houses were thus destroyed.

At Oulart, where Father John Murphy commanded in person, the result was very different. Lieutenant-Colonel Foote, with a detachment of a hundred and ten men, of the North Cork militia, marched from Wexford to attack the rebels, but they were received with so vigorous a charge that every man was killed, except the lieutenant-colonel, a sergeant, and three privates. Father John Murphy, flushed with this first success, marched from Oulart towards Ennis-

corthy: on his way his force was perpetually augmented by new comers, so that in a short time he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men. He first took possession of Carnolin, a small town six miles from Gorey. He then advanced on Terns, where he halted a few hours, and, finding that all the loyalists had left that town, he continued his march, and at ten o'clock in the morning arrived at Enniscorthy. The town was garrisoned by about three hundred militia and yeomen and a few volunteers. Father John immediately attacked the place, and drove the garrison into the market-place. The rebels were much assisted by their friends in the town, who set fire to several houses, in order to create confusion, and even fired from the houses on the king's troops. After three hours' hard firing, and a loss of eighty men killed, the garrison abandoned the town and fled in disorder to Wexford.

Many of the loyal inhabitants of Enniscorthy, dreading the violence of the victorious party, fled with their families to Wexford. The terror of these unfortunate fugitives was indescribable: men, women, and children, of all ranks and ages, were flying for their lives in a confused multitude, leaving all their property in the power of the lawless insurgents. Many were overtaken before they could quit the town, and were inhumanly murdered, or thrown into prison, where a still more horrid fate awaited them. The distance from Enniscorthy to Wexford is fourteen miles, and when the miserable fugitives reached that place, worn

out with fatigue and terror, they found their situation anything but safe. Since the slaughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Foote's detachment at Oulart, the inhabitants were in hourly expectation of an attack, and the garrison was not in a situation to make much resistance.

The principal leaders of the rebels in the county of Wexford were Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey of Bargy Castle; John Colclough, of Ballyteig; and Edward Fitzgerald, of New Park. These men had long shown their opposition to the existing order of things in their county, insomuch that they were considered by the magistracy as decided fomenters of the disturbances, and on the first breaking out of the rebellion they were arrested, and lodged in Wexford gaol, as a measure of precaution, and to deprive the rebels of their countenance, though there was not any specific charge against them. When the surrender of Enniscorthy excited such well-grounded apprehensions for the safety of Wexford, Captain Boyd, who commanded the garrison, visited those three gentlemen in the gaol, and prevailed upon Colclough and Fitzgerald to go to Enniscorthy and endeavour to persuade the insurgents to disperse, taking their words of honour to return to gaol in case of failure, but giving them a promise of total enlargement, protection, and oblivion of all accusations against them, in case of their success. They went accordingly, and were received with shouts of welcome; but when they declared their mission they met not the smallest success. Colclough, as a man of honour, directly retired, with the intention of re-

turning to his prison according to promise; but Fitzgerald remained with the rebels, was associated with Father John in the command, and marched that same evening to a position called the Three Rocks, two miles and a half from Wexford, which they resolved to attack immediately.

Colclough went first to his own house, and thence, accompanied by his wife, he took the road to Wexford, for the purpose of fulfilling his engagement with Captain Boyd. On his arrival at the gaol it was not considered necessary to detain him any longer, and both he and Harvey were discharged. Returning with his wife in their carriage towards his own residence, he was met on the road by a party of panic-struck yeomanry, under Captains Cornock and Snowe, who were flying from Wexford to seek their safety at Duncannon. These men stopped him, and declared they would hold him as a hostage, and, in case they were attacked on the road, they would instantly shoot him. In this manner they marched until they arrived within a mile of Duncannon, at about ten o'clock at night, when he was suffered to depart. He had scarcely left them on his return, when a party of rebels, who lay in ambush on the roadside, fell upon the two troops of yeomanry, and killed about fifty of them: the others fled into Duncannon. The rebels then followed Colclough, and offered him the command of their party, which he accepted, considering, as he himself declared, that, although innocent and ignorant of this affair, nothing could ever clear him of the charge of having

planned the attack, and that no safety now remained for him but in arms. He was a man of amiable character, engaging manners, and good education. He professed the Roman Catholic religion, but had married a Protestant lady. Seduced by fallacious ideas of liberty, he had embarked upon that tempestuous ocean, whence it was so seldom permitted to return, and too late discovered the real views of that infamous association, with which he had embarked his life, his fortune, and his fame.

On the morning of the 29th of May General Fawcet sent Colonel Maxwell with 200 men of the Donegal militia, and a six-pounder, to Wexford; and in the course of the day he sent a message to the mayor, promising to go himself in the evening with the 13th regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of artillery with two howitzers. On the arrival of this encouraging news, Colonel Maxwell left the yeomen and the North Cork militia to defend the town, while he stationed his men on the Windmill-hill, above the city, in order to be ready to march against the rebels as soon as General Fawcet arrived. That general had left Duncannon on the 29th in the evening, and had arrived at Taghmon, whence he sent forward seventy men, eighteen artillerymen, and the two howitzers, under the command of Captain Adams of the Meath militia. This little band was intercepted by the rebels at the Three Rocks: the howitzers were taken, and almost the whole party cut to pieces. General Fawcet on hearing of this disaster fell back upon Duncannon.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 30th the militia under Captain Snowe, and the yeomanry under Captain Cornock, seized with a sudden panic, abandoned their post, and fled towards Duncannon, leaving Colonel Maxwell alone to defend the town. Under these circumstances he determined to evacuate the place, which he accordingly did, and retired to Duncannon, accompanied by such of the inhabitants as were able to follow him. On their way the troops most wantonly and injudiciously devastated the country, burning the cottages, shooting the peasants, and committing all kinds of outrage. This conduct only tended to increase the number of malcontents, and to make them still more desperate and determined.

The rebel force, amounting to 15,000 men, now took possession of Wexford without any opposition.

The rapid success of the insurgents in the southern parts of the county of Wexford created universal alarm among the loyal inhabitants of the neighbouring towns. At Gorey, especially, which was garrisoned by Lieutenant Swayne, with only thirty men of the North Cork militia, and a few yeomen, the terror and agitation was so great, that an order was given to evacuate the town, and retire to Arklow. As soon as this order was known, a melancholy scene of confusion took place. Crowds of people were running in all directions for their horses, harnessing their cars, and placing their families in them with terror and haste, in order to get away before the imagined arrival of a resistless and ferocious enemy. The road was soon filled with vehicles

of every kind, loaded with women and children, followed by a much greater multitude on foot, many of whom were women carrying their children in their arms. In this way they arrived at Arklow; but on the 31st, finding that their fears had magnified their danger, and that the town, though unguarded, was not attacked, the fugitives returned, and the militia and yeomen resumed their duties.

On the 1st of June the great body of the rebels who were stationed on Vinegar Hill, at the foot of which stands the town of Enniscorthy, sent Father Kern, at the head of 6000 men, with a six-pounder, a howitzer, and several swivels, to attack Newtownbarry. That beautiful little town, situated ten miles north-west of Enniscorthy, was occupied by Colonel Lestrange, with about 500 men, militia, yeomen, and volunteers. The rebels began the attack with confidence and courage; but they were repulsed after some hard fighting, and fled in disorder, leaving 300 of their body dead in and about the town. The loyalists only lost two men killed. This was owing, in a great measure, to the well-directed fire of two pieces of artillery. This victory was very important, as Newtownbarry was, as it were, the key of the county of Carlow, where a rising would, in all probability, have taken place if the rebels had succeeded.

Another large body of the insurgents had advanced, under the command of Father Philip Roach, to the hill of Corrigrua, about seven miles south-west of Gorey. On the evening of the 1st of June a body of three

thousand men, detached from that place, took possession of the village of Ballycannoo, about four miles from Gorey, and were advancing to take possession of the hill of Ballymanaann, when they were met by Lieutenant Elliot, who had marched from Gorey, with the view of arresting their further progress. Lieutenant Elliot had under his command twenty of the Antrim militia, twenty of the North Cork, fifty yeomen, and three troops of yeoman cavalry, and with this little band he boldly attacked the enemy, and in a very short time completely defeated them, killing a great number, and dispersing the rest in all directions. He then advanced on Ballycannoo, where he burned several houses, and so effectually damped the ardour of the rebels, that they all retired to the post of Corrigrua, where they remained till the 4th, without any further manifestation of hostility. Meantime Major-General Loftus arrived at Gorey with 1500 men and five pieces of cannon. His arrival, as may be supposed, inspired the hitherto alarmed inhabitants with the confident feeling of security. A plan was immediately proposed for attacking the station at Corrigrua Hill, by marching in two divisions by two different roads; and on the 4th General Loftus, with one division and two pieces of cannon, and Colonel Walpole, with the other division and three pieces, set out on their march, the former by Ballycannoo, the latter by Tubberneering. Meantime the rebels had quitted Corrigrua on the 4th of June to march on Gorey, and, having taken the road by Tubberneering, they came suddenly on Colonel Walpole,

and, after a very severe contest, during which they kept up a tremendous and destructive fire from the fields on both sides of the road, the royalists were completely defeated, and fled in disorder to Gorey, leaving their guns in the hands of the rebels, and a great number of their men dead on the field of battle, among whom was Colonel Walpole, who received a bullet through his head in the beginning of the action. The fugitives were pursued as far as Gorey, where they were severely galled by the disaffected party firing on them from the houses, as they passed through. The unfortunate loyalists, who a few hours before were so full of security, now fled with the routed army to Arklow, leaving all their property at the mercy of the victors. Meantime, General Loftus, who was advancing with the main body by Ballycannoo, hearing the noise of firing, sent the grenadier company of the Antrim regiment of militia, consisting of seventy men, across the fields, to assist Colonel Walpole; but these were intercepted and cut to pieces, almost to a man, by the rebels, and the general, unable to bring his guns across the fields, was obliged to continue his march, and make a long circuit before he arrived at Tubberneering. He immediately followed the rebels, whom he found posted on Gorey Hill, at the foot of which the town is built. As he could neither attack them with any hope of success, nor pass by them into the town, he retreated first to Carnew, and then to Tullow, in the county of Carlow, abandoning all that part of the country to the rebels.

While the rebels were thus gaining ground in the north of Wexford, the great body who had possession of the town of Wexford determined on attacking New Ross, with a view of establishing a communication with their friends in the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny. They chose as their leader Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, a barrister and a Protestant, who was in possession of landed property worth between two and three thousand pounds a-year. This gentleman, more hardy and determined than Colclough, had joined the rebels as soon as he had been enlarged from gaol. He was a man of great personal courage, but was totally deficient in all those other talents which are so essential to a general, particularly in conducting such a war, and guiding such men as those who now placed themselves under his command. On the 3rd of June he marched to the Carrickburn mountain, at the head of twenty thousand men, of whom four thousand were armed with muskets, the remainder with pikes. His artillery consisted of four pieces of cannon, mounted on ship-carriages, and fourteen swivel-guns, worked by a regular artilleryman. On the 4th he advanced to Corbet Hill, within a mile of the town of New Ross, to be ready to begin his attack early next morning. The place was garrisoned by twelve hundred men, under the command of Major General Johnson, an officer of consummate courage and determined zeal. On the morning of the 5th Harvey sent a summons to this officer to surrender the town. It was as follows :—

"SIR,

"As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible. Your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces will not be controlled, if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is requested in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter and will bring the answer.

"I am, Sir, "B. B. HARVEY,
"General Commanding.

"*Camp at Corbet Hill, half-past three o'clock, morning, 5th of June*, 1798."

General Johnson, instead of replying to this singular summons, shot the messenger, or, according to other accounts, he was shot by one of the sentinels at an outpost as he was advancing towards him, waving a white handkerchief in the air as a flag of truce.

The attack was instantly commenced with great vigour, and for many hours victory seemed doubtful. The rebels fought with desperate courage, and nothing but the gallant bearing of General Johnson, who repeatedly rallied and brought up his dispirited men, charging with them, and fighting in the thickest dangers, could have saved the town. At length, at three in the afternoon, after ten hours' hard fighting, in the

course of which many houses were burnt, the rebels retired, leaving between two and three thousand dead on the field of battle, and all their artillery. The garrison lost about three hundred men, among whom was Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the county of Dublin militia. This was the most sanguinary battle fought during the rebellion.

Enraged at their defeat and loss, the rebels removed Harvey from the command, and elected Father Philip Roach, a Catholic priest, as his successor (the same who had commanded at Tubberneering), and at the same time, on the 6th of June, they despatched a guard from Enniscorthy, which had been in the possession of Father John Murphy since the 29th of May, to Wexford, with orders to select ten Orangemen, that is to say, Protestants, and to sacrifice them to the manes of Richard Furlong and those who fell at Ross. These orders were too fatally obeyed; and ten respectable Protestants, who had quitted Enniscorthy when that town was taken, were led back thither, and massacred in the market-place.

Another party of runaways conducted by Father Murphy, parish-priest of Taghmon, reached Scullabogue, at the foot of the Carrickburn mountain, and, feigning an order from Harvey, whom they supposed to be still in command, committed the most inhuman atrocities. They seized every loyal person they could find in their excursions, without distinction of rank, sex, or age; all who were not instantly murdered were dragged away, under pretence of being held as

hostages for the safety of such United Irishmen as fell into the hands of government. They had assembled two hundred and twenty-two such hostages, at the farm-house of Mr. King, at Scullabogue. Mad with anger and revenge, in consequence of their defeat at Ross, they determined to sacrifice these unhappy persons, and began by shooting or piking thirty-seven of them, but, finding this mode of destruction too slow, they shut up all the rest, to the number of a hundred and eighty-four, in the barn, which was thatched with straw: they then set fire to the roof, and continued throwing straw and wood into the flames to feed the conflagration, and thus burned them all alive. While these inhuman monsters were attempting to fire the place, the unfortunate prisoners, shrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back door of the barn, which they forced open; but all their endeavours to escape were vain; they were forced back by their murderers, who continued plying the fire with combustibles, till their moans and cries gradually died away in the silence of death. During this awful struggle a poor child, much hurt and bruised, contrived to creep out under the door, when one of the rebels, darting his pike through its body, threw it back into the flames. A few Roman Catholics had been, by mistake, shut up in the barn with the Protestants, and shared their horrid fate. Among the victims were twenty women and children. One man, whose name was Lett, had the good fortune to escape.

After their defeat at Ross, the rebels retreated and

posted themselves on Slyeevekeelter, a hill which rises over the river of Ross, formed by the united streams of the Nore and Barrow; and three days afterwards they advanced to the hill of Lacken, within a mile of Ross, where they formed something like a regular encampment. On the 12th of June they sent a detachment to the little town of Borris, in the county of Carlow, to procure arms and ammunition; but the detachment was repulsed, with the loss of ten men killed and many wounded. Before they retreated, however, they contrived to burn the greater part of the town. This was the only expedition undertaken by the rebels under Father Philip Roach; their time from that to the 20th was spent in idleness, inactivity, feasting, and rioting: many of them, tired of being away from home, abandoned their leaders and returned to their occupations.

Meantime that body of insurgents who had defeated Colonel Walpole and advanced to Gorey had fortunately been as inactive as their friends at Lacken. Instead of marching immediately upon Arklow, which had been abandoned by the garrison on the morning of the 5th, they waited till the 9th. By that time the panic had subsided, the garrison had returned to their duty, and had been reinforced by the Cavan regiment of militia, and at one o'clock in the morning of the 9th, by a regiment of the Durham fencibles, under Colonel Skerrett. At length the rebels, who had been for the preceding four or five days occupied in burning the town of Carnew, in trying and executing Orangemen, in plundering houses, and other acts of a similar nature,

advanced on the morning of the 9th to attack Arklow. Their numbers amounted to twenty-seven thousand men, of whom five thousand were armed with guns, the remainder with pikes, and three pieces of artillery. The town was defended by the troops above mentioned, amounting to about sixteen hundred men, commanded by Major-General Needham. The attack began at four o'clock in the evening, and was vigorously kept up for four hours. The town was attacked on all sides; but the principal efforts of the rebels were directed against the Durham fencibles, who received the assailants with so close and effective a fire, that they were repulsed on every fresh attack with great slaughter. At length, about eight o'clock, Father Michael Murphy, one of the leaders, in whom the people had unbounded confidence, believing him to be invulnerable—to confirm them in which belief he frequently showed them musket-balls which he said he caught in his hands as they flew from the enemy's guns—was killed by a cannon-ball. This event completed the discomfiture of the rebels, who fled in the greatest disorder, leaving about a thousand men dead, and a great number wounded.

This victory decided the fate of the rebellion, and the rebels were thenceforth obliged to adopt a defensive plan. They retreated first to Gorey, and, on the following day, the main body, under the command of Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, moved to Mount-pleasant, near Tinnehely, in the county of Wicklow, which town

they burned on the 17th of June. They then proceeded to burn the houses of the Protestants in the neighbourhood, and to put to death, or plunder, the peaceable inhabitants. On the 18th, they retired to Kilcavan-hill, near Carnew, and thence, on the 20th, directed their march to Vinegar-hill.

During these transactions, such of the rebels as had remained in Gorey and the neighbourhood were gradually dispersing. Part of them fell back upon Wexford, and took with them the prisoners who had been confined in the market-house of Gorey. The remainder took post on the hill of Ask, about a mile from Gorey, on the Arklow road, where they were gradually thinned by desertions, till they all dispersed, thus once more freeing Gorey and the neighbourhood.

The Wexfordian insurgents had made Vinegar-hill their great station. They had held possession of that place since the 28th of May; and now that they were driven to act on the defensive, they were gradually concentrating all their forces at that spot. During the three weeks that they thus occupied that place, they constantly made excursions, and killed or carried off every Protestant they could find: but instead of preserving their prisoners as hostages, they shot or piked them as they were brought in, and frequently treated them with horrid barbarity before they were put to death. Upwards of five hundred persons were thus murdered, in the short space of three weeks. The facts proved on the trial of one Andrew Farrell, who appears

to have acted a conspicuous part in these murders, are so very circumstantial and descriptive of those horrid scenes, that I here subjoin a few of them.

WILLIAM FURLONG, *sworn.*

"I was taken prisoner by the rebels on Whitsun-Tuesday, and put into the windmill on Vinegar-hill, where I saw the Rev. Mr. Pentland, the Rev. Mr. Troke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyalists, in custody of the rebels. The prisoner, Andrew Farrell, was there—the rebels called him 'Captain Farrell,' to which name he answered: he had a drawn sword in his hand. I heard him bid the royalists fall on their knees and prepare for death, as they should be killed directly; the prisoner ordered out several of the royalists, who were instantly murdered. In particular I saw him take Mr. Pentland by the breast, and by force put him out the mill-door, where he was instantly put to death. Mr. Pentland resisted as much as he could: there were fourteen or fifteen murdered at that time; I saw their bodies lying dead when I got out. The prisoner came up to me and told me I must know where there were arms in Enniscorthy, and that if I would tell him he would save me. I said I would. I was then taken to Enniscorthy, where I was saved by a man who had been maltster to my uncle."

HENRY WHITNEY, *sworn.*

"I was taken prisoner about four miles from Ennis-

corthy, and brought into the mill on Vinegar-hill; in a few hours after I saw Andrew Farrell, the prisoner, drag Mr. Pentland, either by the breast or by the hair, out of the door, where he was directly piked to death: there were twenty-five put to death in that manner while I was there: several of these were put to death after William Furlong was sent out. When Farrell desired us all to go down on our knees, as we had not an hour to live, Mr. Pentland and Mr. Troke got up and begged they might be spared; Mr. Pentland said they were clergymen, and that he was a stranger, and had been but a short time in the country, and was a north-countryman. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Foley; the prisoner then seized him and put him out of door, where he was murdered, as was every person put out except Mr. Hornick's son. The prisoner attempted to drag me out, but I was held back by some of my fellow-prisoners; and one Doran, a rebel of my acquaintance, told Farrell I was an honest quiet man, on which Farrell examined me about arms, and then let me out, and I was saved."

JOHN GILL, *sworn.*

"One of the party that brought me prisoner to the windmill said, on coming in, 'Captain Farrell, here is an Orangeman;' on which Farrell said to the guard, 'take care of him.' Some time after, finding the prisoner in great favour with the rebels, I entreated him to save my life: he asked me my name; I told him

'Gill.' 'That is a bad name,' said he; 'prepare for death; you have not an hour to live.' I again begged my life, and said that I and my brother would play the fife and beat the drum for them; but he desired me to put such thoughts out of my head, as I should certainly die. When I was brought in I saw Mr. Pentland lying near the door; he was just dying. A party of rebels, armed with pikes and guns, formed a line in front of the mill-door; behind them were some on horseback. On being brought out there was one Andrew Martin, with a drawn sword, standing inside the line as executioner. I immediately addressed the rebels, and asked if they would put a man to death without a trial? Martin cried out, 'Damn your soul, do you come here to preach?' and made a stab at me, which hit me on the wrist: some of rebels then bade him stop and ask how I chose to die? I replied, as a Christian. One of them, on horseback said, 'May be he is a Christian,' and asked me, 'Are you a Christian?' I told him I believed in the Saviour of the world, through whom I hoped to be saved. Martin then said, 'Oh, damn your soul, you are a Christian in your own way;' and directly stabbed me in the side. I fell on my face, and was then stabbed in the back, and beaten on the head with some heavy instrument. I still kept my senses. My brother was next brought out, and asked the same question, how he chose to die? He boldly answered, he would die a Protestant; on which they all shouted and rushed forward and piked him to death. Mr. Hornick was next brought out, and asked how he would

die? He answered he would die as he had lived, and was directly murdered. I then fainted, and continued insensible until my wife came for me in the evening. She found great difficulty in saving me, as there was an old man with a scythe examining the bodies, and striking on the head such as he found with any appearance of life. She took me to the bottom of the hill, where, finding I had life, she hid me; the next morning I was found by the rebels and brought up to the hill, from whence I escaped by the help of a man that was to marry my daughter. About half a mile from the hill I was met by two men, one of whom fired at me; the ball grazed my head and stunned me. I lay there until my wife again found me. From that, until Vinegar-hill was taken by the King's troops, I lived in fields and ditches."

This man's relation of his escape is so extraordinary, that I shall add a copy of the following affidavit on the subject.

"County of Wexford.—James Coffey of Enniscorthy, gentleman, came this day before me, and solemnly made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that he was on Vinegar Hill on Tuesday in Whitsun-week, in the year 1798, a prisoner to the rebels, and there saw Andrew Farrell, lately executed at Wexford, a commander among the rebels while they were murdering the Rev. Mr. Pentland, Mr. Gill of Monglass, Thomas Gill the wheelwright, and others, and that he saw at the same time John Gill the wheelwright stabbed and

left for dead: and he further swears, that the said Andrew Farrell, by his influence among the rebels, saved the lives of deponent and of Captain Blacker at the same time and place. "JAMES COFFEY.

"Sworn before me at Enniscorthy,
this 25th day of June, 1800.
"JAMES HANCOCK."

A detail of the horrors committed by the rebels on Vinegar Hill would fill a volume. Sometimes they prolonged the sufferings of their victims by scourging them with lashes of brass and wire twisted in whip-cord. One George Stacey received two hundred and fifty lashes in this way. Sometimes they would pike them, but not mortally, in order to keep them longer in misery. Mr. Henry Hatton, deputy portrieve of Enniscorthy, and several other persons, were laid down on their backs, and stones, having one end small and the other large, were placed in their mouths, which their barbarous murderers stamped on with the heels of their shoes, until their jaws were extended to the utmost, and sometimes torn asunder. The bodies of their victims were sometimes left unburied for several days, and swine suffered to devour them, until the offensive smell caused them to be thrown into the river. Mr. Taylor, in his History of the Rebellion of Wexford, gives the following narrative of the sufferings and escape of one of the prisoners. The account is given in the words of the narrator.

"When I came to the prison-door I was seized by

the breast, and thrown in among the rest of the prisoners, where I remained in the deepest sorrow and affliction, believing death inevitable, as I was among the condemned. Seeing a man who had been piked the evening before, with signs of life (it seems from this he was left for dead), in the prison, his coat being off, his shirt and breeches covered with a cake of blood, and his cheeks full of holes, which were made by their abominable pikes, drawing near him, I inquired what happened him. He told me he had been piked the evening before, and had crept in from among the dead which lay before the door, to avoid the heat of the sun. Looking out of the door, I saw the rebels leading a prisoner, whom they soon after shot; looking out of the other door also, I saw, as near as I can judge, between thirty and forty lying dead about three yards distance, some of whom I knew, being in confinement with me, and one of them was my brother-in-law. Shortly after, a man coming in under pretence of searching our pockets for arms, robbed us of all we had, and went away. Then came that sanguinary monster, Luke Byrne of Oulard, who kept a brewery in Enniscorthy, and inquired how many prisoners were condemned; being told twenty-seven, he answered, 'If any one can vouch for any of the prisoners not being Orangemen, I have no objection they should be discharged.' No one returned an answer. He then said, 'Is there no one to speak?'—no answer. He then ordered six guns to be brought to each door, intending to destroy us at once, and not spend the night in watching over us.

The guards, knowing they would be in danger of killing each other, obtained permission from Byrne to bring us out, and shoot us one by one. We were then ordered to kneel down, and each of us to be brought out in our turn. Three rebels stood at the door with pistols in their hands, and still, as the prisoners were brought out and placed on their knees, they were shot and thrown among the dead. Three of them, expecting they should escape death by renouncing the Protestant religion, and turning Papists, called for the priest. John Murphy immediately arrived, and, laying his hands on their heads, repeated some prayers in Latin. Scarce were his hands off their heads when one of the executioners, who had a grudge to one of the prisoners, fired at him; the ball entered the unfortunate man's ear and killed him; he was carried off, and let fall among the dead. I, being the next, was brought to the door; a rebel, calling me by my name, caught the attention of one of the captains, whose namesake I happened to be; this was fortunate for me, as my life was providentially spared by this circumstance. A man named Thornton, a resident of Wexford, was shot at this instant, but the next man who was brought out broke through the crowd, and ran about seventeen perches, when he was met by a rebel, who, with a scythe, severed his head from his body, so that it hung down on his breast; in an instant several pikes were fastened in him, and I saw him no more. The priest walked away as unconcerned as if no murder had taken place. Out of the twenty-seven prisoners, only three escaped; viz. Hen-

drick, who lived near Clondau, William Bennet, who lived near Enniscorthy, and myself."

This famous eminence was now about to be attacked. General Lake had arranged a plan that the hill should be surrounded, and attacked at the same time on every side. With this view it was fixed that General Needham should march from Arklow; Generals Dundas, Loftus, Moore, Asgill, and Duff, each from different places; and General Johnson from Ross; and that they should thus arrive at Vinegar-hill at a given time, on the 20th of June. General Johnson, in his march from Ross, so alarmed the rebels who were stationed on Lacken-hill, that they fled in the utmost confusion. A part of them took the road to Wexford, the remainder joined their friends at Vinegar-hill.

The different troops who were thus appointed to attack the stronghold of the insurgents amounted to fifteen thousand men, and a very formidable train of artillery. These being all at their posts, with the exception of General Needham, the attack began at seven o'clock in the morning of the 21st; and, after an hour and a half's severe fighting, during which the rebels sustained a very heavy fire of artillery, they abandoned the place, and fled by the passage which General Needham was to have occupied, directing their course towards Wexford. The loss on the side of the king's troops was fifty-one privates killed, and a hundred and thirty-four wounded; Lieutenant Sandys killed, and Lord Blaney, Colonel King, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, wounded. The slaughter of the rebels was immense:

they abandoned all their artillery, amounting in all to thirteen pieces, of which three were six pounders, and a great quantity of rich plunder. This victory of course relieved Enniscorthy, which was immediately occupied by the king's troops. Many excesses were committed by the soldiers, particularly by the Hessian troops. Among others was the burning the house used by the rebels as an hospital, where a considerable number of sick and wounded were burnt alive. These atrocities reflect eternal disgrace on the perpetrators of them, and are even more unpardonable when committed by regular troops, than by a set of lawless banditti.

The town of Wexford was retaken on the same day as Enniscorthy. Brigadier-General Moore had been despatched thither by General Lake, and on the 20th, while on his march, he was attacked by upwards of six thousand rebels at Goff's-bridge, near Horetown. The action was well fought by both parties, and lasted from two in the afternoon till eight, when the rebels were repulsed with great slaughter. General Moore remained that night on the field of battle, and just as he was about to march forward next morning, Captain M'Namus, of the Antrim, and Lieutenant Hay, of the North Cork militia, who had been prisoners at Wexford, arrived with proposals from the insurgents to surrender the town, provided their lives and properties should be spared. General Moore forwarded these proposals to General Lake, but meantime he moved forward, and stationed his army within a mile of Wexford.

Since Wexford had fallen into the hands of the

insurgents, the condition of the Protestants and loyal inhabitants had been one of horrible fear and suspense. Upwards of two hundred and sixty were confined in the different gaols, and many more were prisoners in their own houses, exposed to daily insults, and under perpetual apprehensions of being murdered. At length on the 20th of June, the murder of the prisoners was resolved on, and commenced under the command of a monster named Thomas Dixon, who was by profession a seafaring man, captain and part owner of a trading vessel, and a leader among the rebels; aided and urged on by his still more inhuman wife. The prisoners were led from the gaol to the bridge, in parties of ten or fifteen at a time. There each victim was placed on his knees with two pikemen in front, and two others behind; and after being loaded with abuse, a signal was given by Dixon, or his wife, when the four ruffians plunged their pikes into his body, and, raising him from the ground held him suspended, writhing with pain, for some time, and then flung him over the battlements of the bridge into the river. Ninety-seven persons perished in that manner, between the hours of two and seven in the afternoon. At length these monsters, fatigued and satiated with blood, were with difficulty prevailed upon by Father Curran, or Corrin, a priest of Wexford, to stop the slaughter. This man, after having long and vainly supplicated the assassins to desist, announced the evening prayer, and called upon all present to join him in it, and when he had thus made them all kneel down, he dictated a

prayer, "that God should show the same mercy to them as they should show to the surviving prisoners." Many of the byestanders joined in it, which occasioned debate and delay, but the respite would have been short had not one Richard Monaghan arrived in great haste, announcing the approach of the king's troops, on which every man fled to consult his own safety, and the surviving captives then at the bridge were reconducted to prison. Next day General Moore entered the town, having rejected all offers of surrender, and found that the greater part of the rebels had left it in the opposite direction. The remaining prisoners, to the number of one hundred and fifty, were set at liberty. Order being now in some measure restored, the military authorities proceeded to pursue and punish, by courts-martial, such rebel leaders as fell into their hands. Matthew Keugh, a Protestant, who was the commander in the town during the whole time it was in the possession of the rebels, was executed on the 25th of June, together with nine others, among whom was Father Philip Roche, who led the rebels at Arklow. Cornelius Grogan, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, and John Henry Colclough were executed on the 28th; the two first in the morning, the last by himself in the evening. Mr. Grogan was a gentleman of ancient family, and very large landed estate. He does not appear to have been an United Irishman previous to the breaking out of the rebellion; but being a timid, weak-minded man, his fears induced him to take the oath of the association, and to accept the post of commissary-in-chief of the so-

called patriot army, in the county of Wexford. Being rather advanced in years, he never accompanied his associates to the field, but remained in his own house in Wexford, where he was arrested.

Colclough had retired with his wife and child to one of the Saltee Islands, of which he was proprietor, five miles from the coast, and there took up his abode in a cave, which he had furnished and provisioned, and where he hoped to remain concealed, till the fervour of the prosecution should abate. But Harvey, who since he had been deposed from the command after the defeat at Ross, had been living in the neighbourhood of Wexford, knowing the place of his retreat, and wishing to avail himself of the same means of concealment, embarked so incautiously to follow him, as to afford a foundation for conjecture which led to a discovery. They surrendered without resistance, though they might have defended their retreat a long time with effect. They were led back to Wexford, and tried by a court-martial.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Anthony Perry—Bloody Friday—Perry attacks Hackets-town—defeated—made prisoner, and executed—Father John Murphy penetrates into the County of Kilkenny—Burns Coolbawn—Numerous desertions from the Rebel ranks—Murphy taken and hanged—The Rebels are hotly pursued, and gradually disperse—Edward Fitzgerald, of New Park, and William Aylmer surrender—Holt and Hacket—Rising in the County of Down and in Cork—Misery and desolation caused by the Rebellion—The French land in Killala bay—take Killala, and Ballina—Shameful defeat and flight of the British at Castlebar—The Marquis of Cornwallis marches in person against the French, who lay down their arms—Rising in the County of Longford—Battle of Killala—Napper Tandy's proclamations—Bompart's expedition destroyed—Theobald Wolfe Tone taken—Tried by Court-Martial, sentenced to be hanged—Kills himself.

1798.

WHILE the military were fully occupied in re-establishing order in the town of Wexford, Gorey, which had suffered so much since the breaking out of the rebellion, was again destined to become the scene of a bloody tragedy.

Anthony Perry was a Protestant gentleman of independent fortune, of amiable manners, and of good education. Seduced into the United Association long before the Rebellion broke out, he had acted with a degree of incaution, which created much suspicion in the minds of the neighbouring magistrates; he was consequently arrested, and confined in the gaol of Gorey a

short time before the insurrection began. There alarmed, or repenting, he gave useful information, in the hope of enlargement; but such was the state of things that he was still held in confinement, and treated with harshness and indignity, unbecoming to the actors as men, and highly impolitic to be suffered by the magistrates: but in fact little was then thought improper or unworthy, which tended to gratify the angry feelings of either party. Among other acts of cruelty practised upon Mr. Perry, a serjeant of the North Cork militia, who, from his habitual conduct was nicknamed *Tom the Devil,* cut away all his hair, and burned all the roots with a candle. At length when the insurgents possessed themselves of Carrigrua hill, six miles from Gorey, preparatory to an attack on that town, the magistrates, as we before said, abandoned it on the 28th of May, and liberated Perry, who returned to his own house, four miles from Gorey, in the hope of being permitted to remain in quiet, unconnected with future plots or rebellions; but he was soon followed by a body of yeomen (a class of men who were invariably the most cruel and inveterate towards persons of the opposite party), who destroyed his effects, and obliged him to fly for his life. Finding persecution thus follow him, and believing he had no alternative, he disguised himself as a beggar, crossed the country in safety, and threw himself into the arms of the rebels, who received him with acclamation, and directly placed him in command. Now openly a leader, he devoted himself entirely to the party, entered into all their views, and adopted all their feelings. He fought under Har-

vey at Ross on the 5th of June, was at the attack of Arklow on the 9th, and when on the 21st Wexford was delivered up, he led his followers, to the number of five hundred active, determined men, towards the Wicklow mountains. The town of Gorey having been evacuated by the rebels a day or two before their surrender at Wexford, a party was despatched on the 20th of June, from Arklow to take possession, consisting of seventeen men of the Gorey yeomanry cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Gordon, a youth scarcely seventeen years of age; he was told he would meet a larger force in Gorey, and a superior officer, under whose orders he was instructed to place himself. A few of the yeoman infantry, and other royalists who had fled from the town on the advance of the rebels, hearing of the force which was now to occupy it, hastened back to their homes at Gorey. Lieutenant Gordon did not find the force in the town which he had reason to expect, and instead of remaining quietly in the place for its arrival, he set out with his little band to scour the country in search of rebels, and killed about fifty men, said to have been rebels, but then in their homes, or straggling homeward from the rebel armies. On the 22nd, Perry being on his march from Wexford, as I have just related, received information of this slaughter; he directly turned from his road, and with his men made for Gorey, determined on revenge. Lieutenant Gordon, apprized of his approach, marched out to meet him as far as a spot called Charlotte Grove, with his seventeen cavalry, and fourteen of the yeomanry

infantry, who had returned into the town. Some volleys were fired, which killed seven of Perry's men; but finding they must soon be surrounded, and of course destroyed, the infantry were taken up behind the cavalry, and fled through the town for Arklow. During this skirmish, the other royalists who had returned once more, abandoned their homes, and fled also towards Arklow, but were soon overtaken by the rebels. Young Gordon endeavoured to rally his men to defend these poor people, but in vain; they gallopped away at full speed, and the refugees were left to the mercy of the rebels, who killed, or left for dead, every soul of them. Thirty-seven were killed, and about as many desperately wounded; some of whom, however, afterwards recovered. No woman or child was hurt, although their number exceeded that of the men, as Perry said this was solely a measure of retaliation, and he had found that the yeomen had not hurt any woman on the 20th. The rebels then returned into the town, took a hasty meal, and pursued their route. Such was the slaughter of the 22nd of June, denominated Bloody Friday.

On the 24th, Perry fell in with Garret Byrne, of Ballymanus, in the county of Wicklow, a Roman Catholic gentleman, who was a noted rebel leader, and one of those who commanded on Vinegar-hill. Driven from that post by the army, on the 21st of June, he was retreating with his followers when he met with Perry near Hacketstown, a place garrisoned by only 30 cavalry and 120 infantry militia, under the command of Captain Gardiner. These leaders, uniting

their forces, determined to attack the place, and advanced against it at five o'clock in the morning of the 25th: Captain Gardiner led out his men to oppose them, but was obliged to retreat; the cavalry were driven totally from the field, and appeared no more; the infantry retreated into their barracks, where they were joined by all the royalists in the town, and there defended themselves until seven o'clock in the evening, when the rebels retreated, having first burned all the remainder of the town to ashes, with the exception of one house which joined the barracks, and which was therefore protected. The garrison lost Captain Hardy and ten men killed, and twenty-one wounded. The rebels, being more exposed to the fire from the barracks, left upwards of two hundred dead on the spot, amongst whom was Michael Reynolds, of Naas, who had accompanied Garret Byrne from Vinegar-hill.

On this occasion, the wife of Captain Hardy and two young ladies, daughters of Lieutenant Chamney, fell into the hands of the rebels. These ladies were protected and conveyed to a place of safety by Perry, whose own wife, as well as the wife of Garret Byrne, fell into the hands of the royalists, and were treated with similar courtesy.

Failing in one or two other expeditions, and finding his cause totally lost in Wexford, Wicklow, and Kildare, Perry selected a small body of his most resolute followers, and attempted to penetrate into the northern parts of the kingdom, but, being intercepted and made prisoner in the King's County, he was tried, con-

demned, and executed, at Edenderry, a short time previous to the final extinction of the rebellion.

The main body of the rebels who fled from Wexford, amounting, according to the best computations, to fifteen thousand men, directed its march, under the command of Father John Murphy, to Scollogh Gap, an opening, as the name indicates, in the hills called Mount Leinster, which separate Wexford from Carlow. Their intention was to penetrate into the county of Kilkenny, in order to raise a rebellion among the colliers of Castlecomer. On their way they burnt the little town of Killedmond, in the county of Carlow, and, continuing their march, arrived on the 23rd of June at Newbridge, in the county of Kilkenny. There they were opposed by a small body of the 4th dragoon guards and a company of the Wexford militia, whom they defeated easily; and, by a rapid march, on the same evening reached the Ridge of Leinster, five miles from Castlecomer, where they passed the night.

During this march vast numbers of the rebels quitted their comrades, and returned to their homes; so that, on the morning of the 24th, when they descended from the height to advance on Castlecomer, they were reduced to about eight thousand men. At Coolbawn they were met by a body of two hundred and fifty men, whom they defeated, with considerable loss, and then entered Castlecomer without further opposition. The town was filled with Protestants, who had taken refuge there from the depredations of the rebels, who pillaged and destroyed the country through which they passed.

On entering the town they massacred between fifty and sixty of the loyalists, but, finding that mode of extermination too slow, they set fire to the place, which then underwent all the horrors of a town taken by storm. The loyalists, however, made a desperate defence, in which they were soon seconded by the arrival of Major-General Sir Charles Asgill, with a force of twelve hundred men. Their joint exertions succeeded in driving the rebels out of the town at four o'clock in the afternoon; but the general, finding no shelter for his troops, retired to Kilkenny, followed by all the loyalists. After their departure the rebels returned, plundered the now deserted town, and once more regained the heights they had occupied on the preceding night.

On the morning of the 25th Father Murphy found that his numbers were reduced by desertion to between four and five thousand men, and that his hopes of raising an insurrection were vain; he therefore resolved to return to Wexford. Accordingly he marched that day to Kilcomny, near Newbridge, where he took post on a rising ground, and on the following morning he was attacked on three sides by General Asgill, aided by Major Mathews with five hundred men of the Downshire militia. After an hour's brisk firing the rebels gave way, and fled towards Scollogh Gap, leaving ten pieces of artillery, seven hundred horses, and all their plunder, to the victorious loyalists. The celebrated Father John Murphy was taken prisoner after this engagement, and brought to Tullow, the

head-quarters of Sir James Duff. He was sentenced to death, and hanged the same day. At the time of his death he was about forty-five years of age. The fugitives were pursued several miles by the cavalry. In forcing their way through the Gap they were again opposed by a body of the King's troops, who killed a great number of them, and those who escaped passed through the woods near Ferns, and gained the Wicklow mountains. There they fell in with Garret Byrne, who had been repulsed from Hacketstown, and, placing themselves under his command, they returned towards Wexford, intending to surprise the garrison of Carnew by the way. General Needham, who commanded the forces stationed at Gorey, hearing of their approach, sent two hundred cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pulestone, and a proportionate body of infantry, to disperse them. They came up with the rebels near Carnew; and the cavalry, pushing forward with most imprudent zeal, so as to be quite unsupported by the infantry, began a vigorous attack; but the rebels, quitting the high-road, placed themselves behind the wall or hedges on either side, and poured such a destructive fire on their adversaries, that they killed, in a very short time, fifty-five of them, without losing a single man. The cavalry, unable to retreat, or to do any injury to the rebels, had no resource but to push forward for Carnew, where they gave the alarm to the garrison, which had barely time to retire into a malt-house that had escaped the previous conflagration of the town, and which now served as their

barracks, when the rebels appeared, and after an ineffectual attack retired to Kilcavan-hill.

Next day they directed their march towards Coolkenna, but were pursued so closely by a body of about a hundred and fifty yeomen and a company of the True Blues of Tinnehely, that they changed their course, and stationed themselves on Ballyraheen-hill, between Carnew and Tinnehely. Here the yeomen began an attack, but the rebels, instead of waiting for them to ascend the hill, rushed down on them with such impetuosity, that they put them to flight, with the loss of ten men killed and several wounded. Captain Morton and Lieutenant Chamney took refuge, with sixty men, in Captain Chamney's house, at the foot of the hill, where they sustained a siege of fourteen hours, till at length the rebels, finding all their efforts to set fire to the house fruitless, retired towards morning, leaving about a hundred and fifty of their companions dead about the house. They then separated into two bodies, one of which assembled at White Heaps, at the foot of Crogan Mountain, where they were pursued by General Needham and Sir James Duff. They then advanced to Wicklow Gap, a pass between the mountains of Crogan and Conna, where they were encountered, on the morning of the 5th of July, by Sir James Duff, before whom they retreated towards Gorey. Sir James Duff still pursued them closely, and again overtook them at Ballygullin, four miles from Gorey. There they made a stand, and repulsed the advanced guard of cavalry; but the infantry soon coming up, they again dispersed

having agreed to meet at Corrigrua-hill. This they did, but they had been so hunted from place to place, and they were still so hotly pursued, that they dispersed from Corrigrua, and returned to their homes. Thus ended the rebellion in the county of Wexford.

The other body of insurgents, after the repulse at Captain Chamney's house, placed themselves under the command of Edward Fitzgerald, of New Park, the same who had been sent, in conjunction with Colclough, to negociate with the rebels, but who broke his parole, and remained to command them. That leader, finding his party ruined in Wexford, directed his course, with about two thousand followers, to the county of Kildare, to form a junction with a party of the rebels of that county, who had remained in arms from the beginning of the rebellion, and, under the conduct of William Aylmer, had eluded the king's troops by their rapid movements, sometimes amongst the mountains which separate Kildare from Wicklow, and at others in the extensive morass called the Bog of Allen, which is perhaps a hundred miles in length, and in some parts fifty or sixty in breadth, and is studded with islands, or patches of firm ground. To pass these swamps with horses is quite impossible, and even to pass on foot requires much active and enduring strength, as well as local knowledge. The men of Kildare, however, could not long agree with those of Wexford; they were nearly coming to blows when their commander resolved on a bold and desperate expedition of considerable extent, being nothing less than to seize on the town of Clonard,

to cross the Boyne, attack Athlone, and raise an insurrection in the western parts of the kingdom. The ill-associated confederates, each party about two thousand strong, set out on this hazardous adventure; but their intention became known, the little garrison of Clonard was strengthened by troops from Kinnegad and Mullingar, and, after an hour's very poor fighting, they were obliged to relinquish the attempt. This repulse took place on the 11th of July. The confederates immediately separated; Aylmer returned to his bogs and mountains, where he held out until after the confessions of Arthur O'Connor and his associates; he then availed himself of the terms of pardon offered, dispersed his followers, and surrendered, to quit the kingdom.

The Wexford men, under the conduct of Fitzgerald, now reduced to 1500, hunted by various bodies of the king's troops, made marches, or rather flights, from place to place in the counties of Kildare, Meath, Louth, and Dublin, skirmishing with such bodies of troops as overtook or met them. On the 12th they plundered the village of Carbery, in the county of Kildare. On the 14th they made a desperate stand between the river Boyne and the town of Ardee, where they fought with advantage a large body of cavalry under General Wemys and Brigadier-General Meyrick until the arrival of a body of infantry and artillery, when they broke and fled with some loss into a bog, whence many of them dispersed. But Fitzgerald still had about 800 men, with whom he repassed the

Boyne, intending to regain the Wicklow mountains; but, overtaken near Swords, in the county of Dublin, they made a final stand against the Dumfries cavalry and a body of infantry, were defeated with much slaughter, and totally dispersed. Fitzgerald surrendered on terms to General Dundas, and was confined in Dublin Castle till the beginning of 1799, when Lord Cornwallis permitted him to retire to England, where he remained till the 25th of March following, when he was again arrested at Bristol, and afterwards allowed to retire to Hamburgh.* Some hundreds of his men reached the Wicklow mountains, where, joined by other desperate outlaws, they desolated the country, under the conduct of two men of low degree named Holt and Hacket. Descending suddenly from one or other of the fastnesses in this wild and extensive range of mountains, they committed the most horrible excesses, retiring again before the troops could arrive to prevent them or to intercept their retreat. They almost invariably exercised their atrocities on the persons and properties of Protestants, frequently passing over the lands and through the flocks of Roman Catholics, which they left unhurt, to reach a more distant Protestant proprietor. This preference roused certain feelings among the neighbouring yeomen, who, unable to seize and punish the aggressors, determined to revenge themselves on those who were thus favoured; and where any Protestants were murdered by the banditti they re-

* Hay's History of the Insurrection in Wexford.

solved to massacre a *greater* number of Roman Catholics in the same neighbourhood; thus making innocent persons suffer for their inability to protect the country or to punish the marauders. Such, however, was the fact, and they put their savage resolution into fatal practice. Two instances out of many will suffice.

At Castletown, four miles from Gorey, four Protestants were murdered in the night by Hacket's men; next day seven Roman Catholics were butchered by the yeomen in revenge. At Aughrim, in the county of Wicklow, fifteen Protestants were murdered by the banditti; the yeomen massacred twenty-seven Roman Catholics in the same place in revenge! Horrible as this appears, these are plain, naked truths. Many similar facts are now before me, but these are sufficient to evince the shocking condition of the country. Harassed by the pursuit of the military, particularly of a Scotch regiment of Highlanders, who were as active mountaineers as the outlaws themselves, and the dreary wastes affording no shelter in the wet and cold season, their numbers daily decreased. At length Hacket was killed by a Mr. Atkins, near Arklow, in defence of his house, which that robber attacked; and Holt surrendered himself to Lord Powerscourt, and was transported.

When Holt was brought to Dublin he was at first lodged in a little chamber on the ground-floor of the buildings in the castle-yard. My father could not resist the desire to see this very remarkable outlaw; he accordingly went with Lord Castlereagh and several

other persons to his prison. He was an athletic, active man, about five feet nine inches high, apparently about thirty years of age; a good, steady, resolute countenance, but nothing morose or savage. He was dressed in tight grey military pantaloons, a blue military vest, and grey frize surtout, such as is common among the Irish peasantry. He conversed freely, rather boasting of, than concealing what he had done. He said he had been an excise-officer, or one employed as such, stationed on the Wicklow mountains in order to prevent or discover private stills; that, being absent from his house on this duty, a party of military arrived, and, pretending to believe he was out as a Croppy, destroyed his house and property. He directly fled to the mountains, and took the oath of the United Irishmen.

I regret that it is not in my power to tell what became of those monsters Dixon and his wife. The documents in my hands would enable me to furnish many details of other actors in those scenes, but I should be sorry to disturb the repose of those whose good fortune has caused their names and the parts they acted to be forgotten or less generally known. Those of whom I have spoken were notoriously public.

While these horrid and bloody scenes were desolating the counties of Wexford and Wicklow two or three partial insurrections broke out in other parts of the country, but fortunately they were quickly suppressed. One of these risings was in the county of Antrim. The magistrates had convened a public meeting on the 7th of June, for the purpose of consulting on the most effi-

cient means of preserving the public peace. At two o'clock in the afternoon of that day a numerous body of insurgents attacked the town of Antrim, and, soon overpowering the garrison, had very nearly gained possession of it, when Major-General Nugent sent a body of troops to its succour. The rebels, who were already in the town, defended themselves bravely, and repulsed the vanguard of the royalists, who lost in killed and wounded twenty-three men at the first attack. Colonel Durham, who commanded the troops, then brought up his artillery, and soon obliged the rebels to abandon the town, together with three pieces of cannon. They were pursued with great slaughter as far as Randalstown. Colonel Lumley, of the 22nd dragoons, and some other officers, were wounded. On this occasion Lord O'Neill met his death. He had ridden into the town to attend the meeting of the magistrates, not knowing that the rebels had attacked it, when, his horse having been wounded, he was unable to keep up with the retreating troops. He was attacked by several rebels, one of whom he shot, when he was dragged off his horse, and so desperately wounded with pikes that he died in a few days. Next day a small body attacked the town of Larne, but were repulsed by the garrison. Attempts were also made at Ballymena and Ballycastle, but met with no success. Disappointed and dispirited, the main body retired to Donnegar Hill, where they surrendered their arms and dispersed.

Another rising began on the 8th of June in the county of Down. A body of rebels made their ap-

pearance near Saintfield, led on by Dr. Jackson of Newtownards. One of their first exploits was directed against Mr. Mackee, a very respectable farmer, who was obnoxious to them. They surrounded his house, set it on fire, and burnt him, his wife, his children, and his servants, amounting to 11 persons, driving back into the flames with their pikes, such as endeavoured to quit the house and escape. They then elected Henry Munro, a shopkeeper of Lisburn, as their general; and on the 9th they attacked a body of York fencibles and yeomanry cavalry, under Colonel Stapleton. After a well-fought battle, in which Colonel Stapleton lost 60 men, the rebels were defeated, and dispersed in all directions. Next day they re-assembled at Ballynahinch, on the Windmill Hill, and on Lord Moira's property. On the 12th, General Nugent and Colonel Stewart, with 1500 hundred men, went in pursuit of them, and soon gained possession of Windmill Hill, as well as of the town of Ballynahinch, which the troops wantonly set on fire. On the morning of the 13th the action began: the rebels were about 5000 in number, and fought with great fury and determination for several hours; but at length, their courage alone was not sufficient to withstand the discipline of the regular troops, and they gave way in all directions. The main body retired to the mountains of Slyeeve Croob, from whence in a few days they separated, and returned to their homes.

Another very slight insurrection took place in the county of Cork, where, on the 19th of June, an attack was made on a detachment of the Westmeath regiment

of militia, between Cloghnakilty and Bandon, near the village of Ballynascarty, by a few hundred insurgents, who were soon repulsed. Another body made their appearance on some heights which flanked the road, but a few discharges of the artillery caused them to retire, and they were seen no more. They either dispersed to their homes, or joined their friends in other places.

Happily the rebellion did not extend to the other parts of Ireland, which would most infallibly have happened, had my father not acted as he did; and the whole kingdom would have been a scene of pillage, massacre, and desolation, similar to that which took place in Wexford. The imagination sickens at the account of the atrocities committed during the few weeks that this insurrection lasted: the few I have related will convey some idea of the misery the rest of Ireland escaped.

The mode of conducting this warfare on the part of the insurgents was characteristic of the actors. Hills of a commanding prospect were always chosen for their stations, which they denominated camps. Sometimes one or two tents, or other such covering, was provided for their chiefs; the rest of the assembly remained in the open air, men and women promiscuously, some covered with rags or blankets, many without any other covering than the apparel they wore during the day. This mode of living was favoured by an uninterrupted continuance of fine weather, very unusual in Ireland. This they regarded as a particular interposition of Pro-

vidence in their favour; and they were made to believe that not a drop of rain was to fall until they should be masters of all Ireland. In these camps, among such crowds of riotous undisciplined men, under no regular authority, the greatest disorders may be supposed to have prevailed. When a man was in a sound sleep in the night, he was often robbed of his gun, or some other article. To guard against this, it became customary to sleep flat on the belly, with the hat, shoes, &c., tied under the breast. Their cooking was of the rudest description; the cattle being knocked down and slain, pieces of flesh were cut at random without flaying, and roasted, or rather burned on the fire, together with the parts of the hide belonging to them. The head, feet, and all the rest of the carcase was left to rot where it was felled. They converted books into saddles, when the latter could not be procured, placing the book open in the middle on the horse's back, with ropes for girths and stirrups. The large volumes found in plundering were considered valuable for this use. Being scantily stored with ammunition they used pebbles, or in some instances, hard balls of clay for bullets. Their leaders never willingly made an attack in the night-time on any post where they expected opposition, as the men were not under any real command, but acted spontaneously, each according to the impulse of his own mind. They were watched by each other in battle, each fearing to be left behind in case of a retreat, which was usually very swift and sudden; but in the night, when a man could not see the position of his associates, who might

make what they called 'the run' before he could perceive it, and thus leave him in the hands of those who never gave quarter, no rebel would rely with confidence on the support of his fellow, where resistance was expected. Generally speaking, women and children were not subjected by the rebels to brutality or ill-usage, although instances of the reverse can be cited, such as the burning at Scullabogue, and that of Mackee and his family, in the county of Down. Excepting these attacks, where all were indiscriminately slaughtered, without regard to sex or age, I do not know of any instance of personal ill-treatment to women by the rebels. I fear we cannot say so much for the opposite party.

It would be impossible to form any correct idea of the desolation caused in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, and the neighbourhood, by the ravages of the rebellion. Besides a multitude of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats in the open country, the towns of Carnew, Tinnehely, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Killedmond were entirely destroyed by fire. At Ross above three hundred houses, mostly those of the poor, were consumed, and a great part of Enniscorthy was destroyed. Whenever a town was taken possession of by the rebels, whatever houses escaped the flames were gutted so effectually that nothing remained but the walls and the roof; everything else was wantonly destroyed, and the furniture was universally either burned or carried off. This devastation and plundering was not always the work of the rebels.

Unfortunately a great part of the damage was done by the soldiery, who commonly completed the ruin of deserted houses in which they had taken up their quarters; and too often plundered without distinction the property of loyalist or rebel. But the destruction of property was not the only damage resulting to the above named counties from this atrocious association. When we reflect on the loss of lives—on the personal sufferings—on the neglect of industry—on the obstruction to commerce—on the interruption of credit—on the neglect of the necessary agricultural labours—and on the depravation of public morals, we have before us a picture of woe and misery hardly to be equalled in the annals of the world. The number of persons killed in battle, or put to death afterwards in cold blood, has, I believe, never been correctly ascertained; they must be very great, when we only consider the number of the insurgents. At one time they had encampments on Vinegar-hill, on Lacken-hill, on the Three Rocks, and at Gorey. These four stations were occupied, at the least computation, by 50,000 men; and we may conceive what havoc such an army of blood-thirsty ruffians, collected in one county alone, must have made.

I should fill a large volume were I to recount all the atrocities committed by these infuriated madmen, in the short period of five weeks, and in a comparatively small space of country; but what I have related will be sufficient to convey some idea of what would have been the consequence, if the insurrection had taken government by surprise and unprepared, while it fully displays

the reckless views of the monsters who urged the people to such sanguinary acts: at the same time, it is an undeniable fact that numerous acts of equal atrocity, and still less justifiable, were, during the same period, and for some time previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, committed by the opposite party. I say, still less justifiable, because they were urged, and frequently countenanced, by the actual presence of persons of rank and distinction, who indulged their brutality under the assumed mask of loyalty. Such was the murder of Mr. Johnstone at Narraghmore, as I have already related; the burning of the rebel hospital in Enniscorthy, with all the rebel sick and wounded it contained, to the number of above thirty persons; the massacre of above fifty unresisting individuals by a party of the military under the command of Lieutenant Gordon of the yeoman-cavalry, which provoked the massacre of Bloody Friday; the slaughter of upwards of two hundred men, after they had surrendered on terms of capitulation to General Dundas, on the Curragh of Kildare; the numerous murders committed in cold blood, in retaliation for those committed by the outlaws under Holt and Hacket; the flogging suspected persons, and throwing salt into their wounds to extort confession; and other acts of a similar nature. It can never be supposed that any of these, or similar acts, were authorized or countenanced by any part of the executive government; they were solely to be attributed to the violence of party rage during a period of civil war. They were not, however, the less to be deplored. Hap-

pily, in the present instance, they were confined to about one-eighth part of the kingdom. Such were the horrors of this insurrection, and all, I may say, in the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Dublin, and Kildare, with a momentary rising in the counties of Armagh and Down. What would it have been, if it had extended, like the society which caused it, all over Ireland?

While these bloody scenes were enacting in Ireland, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, and others of the United Irish leaders, who had taken refuge in Paris, were using all their endeavours to obtain effectual succour from France. The failures of the expedition under Hoche in December, 1796, and of that which was to have sailed from the Texel under General Daendells in September, 1797, appear to have checked in a great measure the zeal which the French Directory had at first manifested in the cause of the United Irishmen. But Mr. Tone did not despair; he was unceasing in his efforts, especially when he heard that the rebellion had broken out in the county of Wexford. He called on every person likely to be able to forward his views. On the 20th of June he tells us he called on General Kilmaine, who told him he was much afraid the government would do nothing, as the great superiority of the British naval force, and the difficulty of escaping from any of the ports of France during the fine season, had determined the Directory to adjourn the measure until a more favourable occasion. Tone says—"I lost my temper at this, and told him that if the affair was adjourned it was lost; the present crisis must be seized, or it would be too late; that I could hardly hope the

Irish, unprovided as they were of all that was indispensable for carrying on a war, could long hold out against the resources of England, especially if they saw France make no effort whatsoever to assist them ; that thus far they had been devoted to the cause of France, for which, if they had not been able to do much, at least they had sufficiently suffered; but who could say or expect that this attachment would continue, if, in the present great crisis, they saw themselves abandoned to their own resources ? that now was the moment to assist them—in three months it might be too late, and the forces then sent, if the Irish were overpowered in the mean time, would find themselves unsupported, and in their turn be overpowered by the English. General Kilmaine answered that he saw all that as well as I did; but what could he do ? He had pressed the Directory again and again on the subject, but they were afraid to incur the charge of sacrificing a handful of the troops of the republic, and would not try the enterprise except on a grand scale."*

Mr. W. Tone further tells us that, as the news of each arrest and of each action successively reached France, his father urged the generals and government to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity which was flying so rapidly by.†

At length, in the beginning of July, Mr. Tone was summoned to Paris, " to consult with the ministers of the war and navy departments on the organization of a new expedition. The plan of this new expedition was

* Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. ii., p. 507. † Ibid. p. 518.

to despatch small detachments from several ports, in the hope of keeping up the insurrection, and distracting the attention of the enemy, until some favourable opportunity should occur for landing the main body under General Kilmaine. General Humbert, with about 1000 men, was quartered for that purpose at Rochelle; General Hardy with 3000, at Brest; and General Kilmaine, with 9000, remained in reserve."*

In pursuance of the plan proposed, General Humbert sailed from Rochelle on the 4th of August with 1030 men and seventy officers, in three frigates, two of forty-four guns each, and one of thirty-eight; and after a tedious passage arrived in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, on the 22nd of the same month. The garrison of Killala was composed of fifty men, yeomen and fencibles of the Prince of Wales's regiment. This little body attempted to oppose the entrance of the French, but was soon repulsed, and put to flight, leaving two men dead, and twenty-one prisoners, among whom were Captain Kirkwood of the yeomen, and Lieutenant Sills of the fencibles. The French then entered and took possession of Killala without further hinderance. On the following day General Humbert sent a detachment to Ballina, a small town seven miles south of Killala. On their way they were met by Major Kerr with a party of carabineers and yeomen infantry, whom they repulsed, and on the evening of the 24th they took possession of Ballina. The little garrison, under Colonel Sir Thomas Chapman, retreated to Foxford, ten miles

* Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. ii., p. 518.

distant. On this occasion the Rev. George Fortescue, the rector of Ballina, nephew to Lord Clermont, who had joined the royal troops as a volunteer, was mortally wounded.

The Marquis of Cornwallis, having received intelligence on the 24th of August of the landing of the French, ordered Lieutenant-General Lake to proceed to Galway to take the command of the troops assembling in Connaught. That general proceeded with such troops as he could assemble to Castlebar, which he reached on the 26th, and there he found Major-General Hutchinson, who had arrived the preceding day. The troops thus assembled at Castlebar consisted of about 4000 men, yeomen, militia, and regulars, and a good park of artillery. General Humbert, with 800 men, and two curricle-guns, left Ballina on the 26th; but, instead of taking the usual road through Foxford, where Brigadier General Taylor had been stationed with a body of troops to oppose him, he took the mountainous road by Barnageehy, where there was only a captain's guard to encounter, and at seven o'clock in the morning of the 27th he arrived within two miles of Castlebar, where he found the royal troops drawn out in an advantageous position between him and the town. Everything seemed to promise an easy victory to the royal troops. They were in numbers between 3000 and 4000, well supplied with artillery and ammunition —fresh and unfatigued, and most advantageously posted —while the enemy consisted of 800 men, with two curricle-guns, worn out by a laborious and fatiguing

march of nearly twenty-four hours. The royal artillery was admirably directed by Captain Shortall, and at first did considerable execution among the French, checking their progress for some time; but the French, finding that they could not long resist if they presented oo much front to the well-directed fire of the British, filed away in small parties to the right and left, and advanced with such impetuous courage, that in a few minutes the royal troops gave way, and, seized with panic, broke in all directions, and fled in the utmost confusion through the town, taking the road to Tuam, thirty miles from Castlebar, which they reached that night; and, not thinking themselves safe even there, they merely stopped to refresh themselves, when they again continued their disgraceful flight to Athlone, thirty-three miles further, which place was reached by the vanguard at one o'clock on Tuesday the 29th. Such was their terror, that they actually fled sixty-three miles in twenty-seven hours! The loss of the royal army was fifty-three killed, thirty-four wounded, and 279 prisoners, or missing. They lost also ten pieces of artillery, and four curricle-guns. The loss of the French was not known. The French troops entered Castlebar, where they remained unmolested till the 4th of September. While there the Irish peasantry flocked in great numbers to join them, and 5000 muskets were distributed among them. But their total want of discipline rendered them almost useless as auxiliaries. General Humbert expected not only to find powerful support among the Irish, but also to

receive fresh supplies of men and stores from France; but, finding himself disappointed in both these expectations, he clearly saw that he must eventually be overcome; still he determined to make the best stand he could, and not to surrender until he found further resistance altogether useless. With that view he called in his troops from Killala and Ballina, and thus collected all his forces at Castlebar.

Meantime, the Marquis of Cornwallis, who, as soon as he received intelligence of the landing of the French, had determined on marching against them in person, quitted Dublin on the 26th of August, and reached Kilbeggan on the evening of the 27th. There he received the account of the defeat of the royal troops at Castlebar, and he immediately advanced to Athlone, where some of the runaways informed him that the French had continued the pursuit to Tuam, and taken possession of that town. On the 30th of August his Lordship continued his march, and on the 4th of September reached Hollymount, fourteen miles from Castlebar. There he received intelligence that the French had evacuated that town the same morning, and had marched towards Sligo by way of Foxford.

The French on leaving Castlebar were about nine hundred in number, including officers, and they were accompanied by a confused mob of undisciplined rebels. Their plan appears to have been to reach the coast in the county of Donegal, as being the most likely place at which they might expect succours from France; but, surrounded on all sides by an army, little short of thirty

thousand men, they were unable to effect that purpose. As soon as they moved from the town they found Colonel Crawford with a large body of troops, supported by General Lake with another, hanging upon their rear. Major-General Moore was continually harassing them with another detachment; and the Marquis of Cornwallis, with the main army, was marching in a parallel direction to them, so as to intercept their communication with the county of Longford, in which a rising had taken place, with a view to favour their design.

The French reached Tubbercurry early in the morning of the 5th, where they were opposed by Captain O'Hara with a few yeomen. After a short skirmish Captain O'Hara was repulsed, and the enemy proceeded to Coloony, where they were attacked by Colonel Verreker, with three hundred infantry, thirty light dragoons, and two curricle-guns. After an action of about an hour Colonel Verreker was obliged to retreat, leaving his guns in the hands of the French. General Humbert, conceiving this body to be the vanguard of a much larger army, instead of proceeding to Sligo, now directed his march by Drummahair towards Manorhamilton, in the county of Leitrim, leaving three six-pounders dismounted on the road, and having thrown five pieces of cannon over the bridge at Drummahair. At Manorhamilton he turned towards Drumkerin, apparently with the design of reaching Granard, in the county of Longford. Colonel Crawford still kept hanging on his rear, and on the 7th had an engagement, in which he was repulsed with considerable

loss, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore. General Humbert now passed the Shannon at Balintra, closely pursued by General Lake and Colonel Crawford, and, passing by Cloone, arrived at Ballinamuck on the 8th of September. Lord Cornwallis had marched from Carrick-on-Shannon to Saint Johnstown to meet and intercept General Humbert, if he attempted to reach Granard, so that he was now closely surrounded on every side by a force twenty times superior to his own. In this desperate situation he drew up his men, and, after a defence of about half an hour, the main body of General Lake's troops came up, and the French laid down their arms. Their numbers were found to be seven hundred and forty-eight privates, and ninety-six officers! Since their first landing at Killala, they had lost two hundred and eighty-eight men in different engagements. The Irish rebels were excluded from quarter, and fled in all directions: about five hundred were shot on that day. Matthew Tone, the brother of Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Bartholomew Teeling, of Lisburn, who had accompanied the expedition from France, were taken, sent in irons to Dublin, tried, and executed. Thus ended this extraordinary expedition.

As soon as it was known that the French had landed at Killala, the disaffected party in the counties of Longford and Westmeath bestirred themselves actively to raise an insurrectionary movement, with the view of making a diversion in their favour, and of facilitating their progress towards the capital. In the county of Longford especially many persons of fortune

espoused this cause. The rising took place on the 4th of September, the same day on which the French evacuated Castlebar, and on the morning of the 5th a body of several thousand rebels, led by one Alexander Denniston, a lieutenant of the Mastrim yeoman cavalry, marched to the attack of the town of Granard. Fortunately on that same morning Captain Cottingham, of the Cavan and Ballyhaise yeoman infantry, arrived from Cavan with eighty-five men: these, with the few troops who were stationed in Granard, formed a body of a hundred and fifty-seven infantry and forty-nine cavalry. The rebels attacked this little body with great impetuosity, but Captain Cottingham bravely stood his ground. During five hours the insurgents made the most desperate attempt to drive back the troops, but they were received with such a well-directed fire of musketry that all their efforts were ineffectual, and towards three o'clock in the afternoon they gave way and fled in all directions, pursued with great slaughter by the cavalry.

On the evening of the same day a strong column of the rebels, having rallied, marched to attack Wilson's hospital, six miles from Mullingar. This hospital, which had been built for the maintenance of twenty old men and a hundred boys, had been seized and plundered in the morning by another party, and the rebels, enraged at their defeat, were just about to murder twenty-eight Protestant prisoners, whom they had collected from the neighbourhood, when Lord Longford came up with a force of yeomen and Argyle fencibles,

amounting to three or four hundred men, and one field-piece. The rebels, hearing of his lordship's approach, marched t meet him at the village of Bunbrusna, and made, as was their custom, a very impetuous attack, endeavouring to seize the field-piece; but a few discharges of grape-shot and musketry soon cooled their ardour, and they fled in confusion. A great number took refuge in an adjoining farm-house, which was set on fire, and many perished in the flames. Lord Longford's troops remained under arms all night, intending to attack the hospital early the following morning; but during the night it was evacuated by the rebels, and the troops took possession of it without further hinderance.

When the Rebellion had thus been put down in the county of Longford, the attention of the government was directed to those places in the county of Mayo which still remained in the power of the insurgents. Castlebar had been occupied by the king's troops since its evacuation by the French, and on the 12th of September it was attacked by a very numerous body of rebels. The garrison consisted of fifty-seven Fraser fencibles, thirty-four volunteers, and a troop of yeoman cavalry, under the command of Captain Urquart, who defended the place with this little force so valiantly, that he beat off the assailants and saved the town from plunder. The towns of Newport and Westport were soon retaken, and on the 22nd of September Ballina surrendered after a few discharges of cannon. The rebels, commanded by Mr. Truc, a French officer,

fled to Killala. On the following day Major-General French, with twelve hundred men and five pieces of cannon, arrived before Killala, the last hold of the rebels. The account of the retaking of this town is thus related by an eye-witness.

"The peaceable inhabitants of Killala were now to be spectators of a scene which they had never expected to behold—a battle! a sight which no person who has seen it once, and possesses the feelings of a human creature, would choose to witness a second time. A troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina, women and children tumbling over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town where they might hope for a momentary shelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army. The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, posting themselves under the low stone walls on each side in such a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the king's troops. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that General French had divided his forces at Crosmalina, and sent one part of them by a detour of three miles to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Crosbie, and Maurice Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry; their colonel, the Earl of Glandore, attending the general. It is a

circumstance which ought never to be forgotten by the loyalists of Killala, that the Kerry militia were so wrought upon by the exhortations of those two spirited officers, to lose no time to come to the relief of their perishing friends, that they appeared on the south side of the town at the same instant with their fellows on the opposite side, though they had a league more of road to perform.

"The number of the rebels engaged could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, running upon death with as little appearance of reflection or concern as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle and immediately after it. They met with death on every side in attempting to escape, for, when they were driven from their post outside the town by a flanking fire of the soldiery, they fled in all directions, and were furiously pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry, who slaughtered many in the streets; and they were either intercepted at the other end of the town by the Kerry militia, or, directing their flight to the shore, they were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution.

"The pursuit of the cavalry into the town was not agreeable to military practice, according to which, it is usual to commit the assault of a town to the infantry,

but here the general wisely reversed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid pursuit, from taking shelter in the houses of the town's-folk, a circumstance which was likely to provoke indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. The measure was attended with the desired success. A considerable number was cut down in the streets, and of the remainder but a few were able to escape into the houses. Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houses, and by consequence brought mischief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themselves.

"In spite of the exertions of the general and his officers the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some houses were perforated like a riddle; most of them had their doors and windows destroyed, the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaping with life by lying prostrate on the floor—nor was it till the close of next day that their ears were relieved from the horrid sound of muskets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels. The plague of war so often visits the world that we are apt to listen to any description of it with the indifference of satiety: it is the actual inspection only that shows the monster in its proper and full deformity."*

The retaking of Killala put an end to the Rebellion in that quarter.

On the 4th of September the Anacreon, French brig, left Brest with a body of United Irishmen, who

* A Narrative of what passed at Killala, by an eye-witness. Dublin, 1800.

had fled to France, headed by James Napper Tandy, and after twelve days' sail arrived at Rutland, in the county of Donegal. They landed immediately, and distributed the following proclamation.

"LIBERTY OR DEATH.

"Northern Army of Avengers. Head Quarters.

"The First Year of Irish Liberty!

"United Irishmen!

"The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery worked by those who have spread terror among the ranks of the best troops in Europe, headed by French officers. They come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty.

"James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to lead them on to victory or die. Brave Irishmen! the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in reconquering your rights; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood.

"French blood shall not flow in vain. To arms! freemen, to arms! the trumpet calls, let not your friends be butchered unassisted; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause, and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

"General Rey."

(In the name of the French officers and soldiers now on the coast of Ireland).

But this "most glorious struggle" was not to take place, for the first news Napper Tandy heard on landing was the failure of General Humbert's expedition; he therefore took a slight repast, and hastily re-embarked, and returned to France; but before he went he left another memorial of his expedition in the following proclamation.

"General J. Napper Tandy to his Countrymen.

"United Irishmen!

"What do I hear? the British government have dared to speak of concessions! Would you accept of them? Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister? A minister too who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste, and massacred inhumanly your best citizens; a minister, the bane of society and the scourge of mankind. Behold, Irishmen! he holds in his hand the olive of peace; beware! his other hand lies concealed, armed with a poniard. No, Irishmen, no! you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues: unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you,—let his efforts be vain!

"Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country,—your friends have fallen a sacrifice for their devotion to your cause; their shadows are around you and call aloud for vengeance. It is your duty to avenge their death—it is your duty to strike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Listen

to no proposals, Irishmen! wage a war of extermination against your oppressors,—the war of liberty against tyranny,—and liberty shall triumph.

"J. Napper Tandy."

Napper Tandy was afterwards arrested at Hamburgh, and sent to Ireland, where he was indicted for high treason, at the spring assizes, held at Lifford, for the county of Donegal, in 1801; and, having pleaded guilty, he obtained the royal mercy, on condition of banishing himself from the country.

The news of Humbert's first successes soon reached France, and immediate preparations were made for sending the second detachment from Brest. On the 20th of September the expedition set sail from the Baie de Camaret. It consisted of the Hoche 74, the Loire, Resolve, Bellone, Coquille, Embuscade, Immortalité, Romaine, and Semillante, frigates, and the Biche schooner, under the command of Commodore Bompart. The land-forces consisted of three thousand men, under General Hardy. Bompart took a large sweep to the westward, to avoid the British fleet, and, then turning to the north-east, he reached the end of Loch Swilly on the 10th of October, after twenty days' sailing. On the following morning, before he could enter the bay, he was signalled by Sir John Borlase Warren, and, after a desperate fight, the Hoche and six of the frigates were taken: the Romaine and the Semillante, with the Biche schooner, escaped to France.

On the 27th of the same month another squadron of

three frigates, having on board two thousand men, who were intended as a reinforcement for General Hardy, anchored in the bay of Killala, but, on the appearance of some English cruisers, they set sail with all haste, and returned in safety to France.

Theobald Wolf Tone was taken among the other prisoners on board the Hoche: at first he passed unnoticed among the officers, and, when they landed at Letterkenny, he was invited with them to a breakfast with the Earl of Cavan. At that breakfast he was recognised, whether by being pointed out by an old fellow-student, as Mr. W. Tone states, or otherwise, is now immaterial. He was handed over to the police, and sent off to Dublin to be tried for high treason. As soon as Mr. Tone arrived in Dublin preparations were made for trying him by a court-martial. Mr. W. Tone, in the account he gives of the trial of his father, says that an erroneous notion prevailed that his father considered his French commission as a protection, that this however was not correct, for his father "knew perfectly well that the course he had deliberately taken subjected him to the utmost severity of the British laws."* But in Mr. Tone's journal for March, 1796, he himself says, "I was willing to encounter danger as a soldier, but had a violent objection to being hanged as a traitor; consequently, I desired a commission in the French army: as to the rank, that was indifferent to me, my only object being a certainty of being treated as a soldier in case the fortune of war

* Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. ii. p. 526.

should throw me into the hands of the enemy, who I knew would otherwise show me no mercy." * Certainly, if we may judge from his own confession, he appeared at that time to think that a French commission would be a kind of safeguard, at least that it would entitle him to a soldier's death; though, in his journal of December 25th, 1796, he seems not quite so sure of this result, for he says, "Perhaps I may be reserved for a trial, for the sake of striking terror into others, in which case I shall be hanged as a traitor." †

On Saturday, the 10th of November, the court assembled. It was composed of General Loftus, Colonels Vandeleur, Daly, and Wolfe, Major Armstrong, and Captain Curran. Mr. Paterson was judge-advocate. Mr. Tone appeared in the uniform of a chef de brigade. He pleaded guilty to all the charges brought against him, and endeavoured to justify his political conduct in a very eloquent and affecting speech. He denied having any part in the system of private assassination into which the United Irish Society had degenerated; and he ended by requesting to die the death of a soldier in consideration of the uniform he wore. He then handed in his commission from the French Directory, signed by the minister of war, granting him the rank of chef de brigade, and a letter of service giving him the additional rank of adjutant-general. The Marquis of Cornwallis did not think fit to accede to his request, and he was sentenced to be

* Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, vol. ii. p. 71.

† Ibid. p. 264.

hanged on the 12th November. Meantime his friends were not idle. Mr. Curran agued that the sentence was illegal, inasmuch as he, not being a military man, could not legally be tried by a court-martial, while the Court of King's Bench was sitting, as martial law must cease as soon as civil law was established. He, therefore, on Monday morning, the day fixed for the execution, moved for a habeas corpus, directed to the provost-martial of Dublin barracks and Major Sandys, to bring up the body of Mr. Tone. The chief justice immediately sent the sheriff to the barracks to stay the execution while the writ was preparing. The sheriff speedily returned, saying that the provost-martial had answered that he must obey Major Sandys, and Major Sandys said he must obey Lord Cornwallis: at the same time Mr. Tone's father, who had gone off with the writ of habeas corpus, returned, saying that General Craig had refused to obey it. On this the chief justice (Lord Kilwarden) ordered the sheriff to take the body of Mr. Tone into custody, to take the provost-martial and Major Sandys also into custody, and to show the order of the court to General Craig.

When the sheriff again returned it was to say that Mr. Tone had, in the course of the preceding night, cut his own throat, and could not be removed. It seems that Mr. Tone, on hearing of the result of his application to the court, wrote three letters, one to the French Directory and two to his wife; and then with a pen-knife inflicted the fatal wound. He lingered till the 19th of the month, when he expired.

Such was the fate of the founder of the United Irish Society. It is curious that he should have lived to see the end of the society, and then by his death terminate, as it were, the last act of the fatal tragedy of which that society had made Ireland the theatre.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Ministers accused of exciting the people to Rebellion to increase their own power—Mr. Reynolds' testimony could clear them of this Charge. The Trials of the Conspirators. John M'Can tried and convicted.

1798.

While the province of Leinster was a prey to all the horrors of rebellion and civil war, my father confined himself closely to Dublin Castle, to preserve himself from the fury of those men who now sought his destruction more ardently than ever.

Meantime the friends of the United Irishmen, both in England and Ireland, denied altogether the criminal nature of the intentions of the United Irishmen, accusing ministers, even in parliament, of having themselves got up the plot,—of having perverted the natural disposition of the people, and driven them into riots, and all manner of insubordination, by oppression, injustice, free-quartering, flogging, torturing, and illegal imprisonments, to strengthen their own power, to colour their tyranny, to put down the spirit of constitutional freedom then dawning in Ireland, to rivet the chains of despotism in that country, and to augment the influence of the crown, supported, they said,

in Ireland, by the extraordinary power and authority which the British ministry intrusted to the Beresford family, who were placed at the head of the bar, the church, and the revenue of the country, and who sought to consolidate their own authority by crushing the spirit and trampling on the liberties of the people. Such were the charges made against government at that time, both in and out of parliament, not only by the Jacobin faction, but by the most respectable and constitutional oppositionists.

My father's testimony would enable ministers to test the truth of these charges, by exposing the real plans of the conspirators. To prevent his giving that testimony the conspirators at that time sought his life: to revenge his having given it, they have ever since sought to destroy his reputation, and even the grave has not put an end to their hatred.

Honours, title, power, and riches were pressed on him by one party, while threats of the most savage vengeance were denounced against him and his family by the other; but, uninfluenced by the offers of the one, all of which he rejected, as much as by the threats of the other, which he despised, he steadily adhered to that course which he considered to be his duty to his king, to his country, and to his reputation.

As I have observed in the preface, I felt that I was incompetent to examine and comment upon the reports of the trials of M'Can, Byrne, and Bond, in which my father was the principal witness. Those reports have been carefully involved in obscurity, and wilfully

falsified in many particulars. The following remarks upon those important trials, as they have been reported by Mr. Thomas Jones Howell in the twenty-seventh volume of the 'State Trials,' occupying the remainder of this and the two following chapters, have been supplied by another pen :—

The most careless reader, upon the perusal of these trials, cannot fail to observe that the three prisoners at the bar were not the only persons who stood upon their deliverance. It was well observed by the attorney-general, in the course of the first case that it was, "as it were, the trial of Mr. Reynolds." The counsel for the prisoners directed their attention chiefly to the case of that gentleman; advancing charges against him of a highly criminal nature, and calling witnesses in support of those charges; and the presiding judges successively gave his case in charge to the several juries, as fully as the case of either of the prisoners at the bar. This gentleman's case was not that of an ordinary approver, upon whose evidence, corroborated by circumstantial proof, a jury may convict, while they hold the witness to be the basest of mankind. In these cases it will be found that the question of the guilt or innocence of the several prisoners rested, chiefly, upon the testimony of Mr. Reynolds. This was so strongly felt by the counsel for the defence, that they directed their attention in each case to the impeachment of the character and motives of Mr. Reynolds, to the complete neglect of all other grounds of defence; and the judges

charged the several juries, that, if they believed the evidence against Mr. Reynolds, they ought to hesitate to convict upon his unsupported testimony. Under such circumstances a verdict of guilty against the prisoners is one of not guilty in favour of the witness.

I purpose entering into a careful examination of those parts of these three trials which relate to the case of Mr. Reynolds, with the view of ascertaining whether the verdicts of acquittal which these juries gave in succession, almost without leaving the box, upon all the charges brought against him, were justified by the evidence; or whether they were the result of a predetermination to convict the three prisoners at the bar, notwithstanding the well-established depravity, immorality, and falsehood of almost the only witness against them.

The truth of Mr. Reynolds' account of the conspiracy has long ceased to be a matter of dispute. The conspirators themselves, immediately after the conviction of Mr. Bond, made the fullest confession, entered into the minutest details of the conspiracy, and confirmed, in the clearest manner, the truth of Mr. Reynolds' evidence in that respect. If, however, any persons at the present day feel dissatisfied with this confirmation of Mr. Reynolds' testimony, on the ground that it was obtained from prisoners under duresse, they may consult with advantage the subsequent publications of the same parties, and particularly the writings and memoirs of Theobald Wolf Tone, M'Nevin, Sampson, O'Connor, Emmett, &c. &c., in

which will be found not only a recapitulation of all Mr. Reynolds said, and the conspirators confessed, but many curious and interesting details which none but the chief actors in the confederacy could have known and divulged. The memoirs of Tone, published in 1826 by his son, will be found particularly interesting and instructive.

The question, therefore, to which I am about to draw the attention of my readers is, not whether the evidence given by Mr. Reynolds was true,—subsequent events have fully confirmed that,—but whether the three juries who tried M'Can, Byrne, and Bond, ought to have believed him at the time, or whether his private character was proved to be so depraved, and the motives attributed to his public conduct so clearly established to be venal, that those juries ought at once to have rejected his testimony, and that his memory ought still to be held up to public scorn. With that view I am about to go through each of those three trials, compressing into the form of a narrative those parts of Mr. Reynolds' testimony which related to public matters, and giving *verbatim* those parts which bore upon his private character and motives, together with the evidence of the witnesses against him, the speeches of counsel on both sides, so far as they have come down to us properly authenticated, and the summing up of the several judges so far as they related to him; and I shall then add such observations as strike me. In asking my readers to accompany me patiently through this long examination, I have to

entreat them to bear in mind the words of that eminent and cautious judge, and able lawyer, the late Earl of Eldon, who on one occasion thus expressed himself:—"So I say in this case, for the rules of evidence permit me so to state, it is not merely from what does appear that a jury is to judge, but also from what does not appear;" and to recollect that "the statements of counsel are not evidence," and, when unsupported by proof, can only serve to exhibit the talent and eloquence of the speaker, and his zeal for the interests of his client.*

A special commission for the trial of these prisoners having issued to the Right Honourable Hugh Viscount Carleton, lord chief justice of the Court of Common

* In Mr. Curran's address to the jury in defence of James Weldon, tried for high treason in Dublin in 1796, he made the following just observations upon the statements of counsel when unsupported by evidence:—

"Gentlemen, I cannot, however, but regret that that sort of laudable and amiable anxiety for the public tranquillity, which glows warmest in the breasts of the best of men, has perhaps induced Mr. Attorney-General to state some facts to the court and jury of which no evidence was attempted to be given; and I make the observation only for this purpose,—to remind you, gentlemen, that *the statement of counsel is not evidence*,—to remind you that you are to give a verdict, upon this solemn and momentous occasion, *founded simply upon the evidence which has been given to you*,—for such is the oath you have taken. I make the observation not only in order to call upon you to discharge any impressions not supported by testimony, but to remind you also of another incontrovertible maxim, not only of the humane law of England, but of eternal justice, upon which that law is founded, that the more horrid and atrocious the nature of any crime charged upon any man is, the more clear and invincible should be the evidence upon which he is convicted." See Howell's 'State Trials,' vol. xxvi. p. 264.

Pleas; the Honourable Alexander Crookshank, second justice of the said court; the Honourable Tankerville Chamberlaine, third justice of the Court of King's Bench; the Honourable Michael Smith and the Honourable Denys George, third and fourth barons of the Court of Exchequer; and the Honourable Robert Day, fourth justice of the Court of King's Bench;—the prisoners were all arraigned on Thursday, the 5th July, 1798; and M'Can, who was first tried, was put upon his trial on Tuesday the 17th of the same month.

The following are the names of the jury:—

Patrick Bride,	Arthur Stanley,
William Thompson,	Archibald Hawkesley,
Francis Kirkpatrick,	Thomas Black,
Thomas Hendrick,	Michael Culloden,
Richard Hewson,	Peter Roe,
Richard Jackson,	Richard Quintin.

The judges who tried the case were Mr. Baron Smith, Mr. Baron George, and Mr. Justice Day.

The solicitor-general (Mr. Stewart) stated the case. In speaking of the evidence he said that "two witnesses would be produced; it was true, both in the light of accomplices, but who else could give information of such dark and desperate conspiracies as existed in this country? One of them would be found to be a man of sense, property, and education, unhappily seduced by a wretched young nobleman, who had already fallen a victim of his diabolical ambition, who, though born of the first family in Ireland, had, to forward those ambitious hopes he had conceived, entered into fraternity

even with an ironmonger's clerk, the prisoner at the bar."

Thomas Reynolds, Esq., was then called. After stating that he had lived the greater part of his life in Park-street, Dublin, that his business had been that of a silk-manufacturer upon the most extensive scale of any in Dublin, and that he had lately purchased Kilkea Castle and estate in the county of Kildare, and removed there with his family, he related the nature, constitution, and objects of the Society of United Irishmen, and the connexion of the prisoner with it. There being, at the present day, no dispute about the truth of those details, I shall pass them by, and proceed at once to Mr. Reynolds' account of himself.

Mr. Reynolds stated that he had been sworn in an United Irishman, at the house of Oliver Bond, in the early part of the year 1797; that he had attended several meetings of the society in its two first grades, in the early part of that year; that the objects of the society were "to overturn the constitution and present government of Ireland; to establish a republican government instead of it; and to favour any landing of the French which might forward these views."* He

* It must not be understood that Mr. Reynolds was informed that these were the real objects of the United Irishmen previous to becoming a member of the society; that conspirators should fully open themselves to a candidate, previous to his admission, would be alike contrary to common sense and common experience. Their ostensible objects were Catholic emancipation and reform in parliament. In the words of the learned judge who tried this case, Mr. Reynolds "learned their projects by attending all the different meetings, there hearing the end and object of their institution repeatedly mentioned by the body collectively."

stated that, although he now knew these to be the real views of the promoters of these societies, yet that their ostensible objects extended only to reform in parliament and Catholic emancipation; that the oath* taken by them only purported to comprehend those objects, and fidelity to each other; that hundreds upon hundreds became members of these societies, and continued in them, with no other views; and, lastly, that it was only upon reaching the higher grades of the society that their real objects were fully developed. He said that, having purchased the lease of Kilkea Castle and estate, he retired into the country with his family in the beginning of the summer of 1797, thereby breaking off his attendance at the meetings of the society. He then stated that, being in Dublin in the following month of November, he met Lord Edward Fitzgerald on the steps of the Four Courts in Dublin, and, at his solicitation, backed by the advice of Oliver Bond, he consented to be elected colonel for the barony of Kilkea and Moone, in the county of Kildare, in which barony his estate lay.†

He then stated that Lord Edward Fitzgerald told him that everything relative to his appointment as colonel should be arranged by one Matthew Kennaa; and

* See the oath at page 394 in the note.

† To make this part of the evidence understood, it is necessary to state that, in the summer of 1797, in the interval between the time when Mr. Reynolds ceased to attend meetings of the baronial committee of Dublin, (beyond which committee he states that he never proceeded in that city,) and this meeting with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the Societies of United Irishmen had been subjected, by the directory, to a species of military organization.

he says that Kennaa accordingly called upon him in the month of January, at Kilkea, and asked him if he would stand his election for colonel for that barony; that he told Kennaa that, having promised Lord Edward Fitzgerald that he would do so, he was ready to fulfil his promise; that Kennaa then told him that Lord Edward had so informed him; but Kennaa added that, if he was to be their colonel, he must also hold a civil office in the baronial committee, and be thereby deputed to the county committee; and Kennaa asked him which of the two offices of secretary or treasurer he would prefer; he says that he chose to be treasurer, as being the least responsible and the least troublesome of the two, and that then Kennaa said that he (Kennaa) would go forward with the witness from the baronial to the county committee as secretary to the baronial. He next states that Kennaa called upon him again in February, and informed him that he had been unanimously chosen colonel and treasurer at the baronial meeting, and that the county committee, of which he was now a member, would meet on Sunday morning, the 18th of that month of February, at a house on the Curragh.

He says that he attended that meeting, and he mentions the names of several persons whom he met there; and he says that, after taking the United Irishman's test, the committee proceeded to elect the officers of the committee for the ensuing three months, which officers together with one other member, were, ex officio, delegates to the provincial committee, which, it appears,

was the highest body known to the society, except the directory, of whom the witness declared that he had heard, but that he did not at that time know who they were. He says that a Mr. Cummins of Kildare was chosen secretary, and a Mr. Daly of Kilcullen delegate, and that he himself was chosen treasurer, in the place of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and he adds, that one Michael Reynolds of Naas, who had been secretary during the preceding three months, then informed the newly-chosen officers that the provincial committee would meet on the next day, the 19th, in Dublin, at Oliver Bond's house, and that important business was to be then transacted.

Mr. Reynolds then states that he did not attend the meeting of the provincial committee held at Bond's house on the 19th of February; and that he afterwards learned that another meeting of the provincial committee would be held at the same place and hour on the 12th of March.

He states that he gave information of the intended meeting of the 12th of March to government, through the intervention of a Mr. Cope; but that, not knowing exactly the hour at which the meeting was to be held, he applied to the prisoner M'Can, to whom he had been referred by Michael Reynolds, for information. M'Can asked him if he had brought up the county of Kildare returns of men, money, and arms; that he told M'Can he had not; and that M'Can then said he could give him no information about the intended meeting of the provincial committee, as he (the witness) could not be

admitted to that meeting, unless he brought up those returns.

He says that, upon his return to the country, he applied to his co-delegate Daly for those returns, who gave him copies of them; and that, upon his return to Dublin, he showed these returns to M'Can, who thereupon promised to breakfast with him on Sunday, March the 11th, and then informed him that the intended meeting would be held as proposed at Bond's house, on the following morning at ten o'clock; and that he, witness, immediately conveyed this information to Mr. Cope.

He then states that, being aware that the persons who might be found at the meeting would be arrested, he sent an excuse to Bond, and called in the course of the day upon Lord Edward Fitzgerald, at Leinster House, and endeavoured to persuade him to withdraw himself, by showing him some orders which had been issued to a corps of yeomanry which seemed to threaten danger. (In this Mr. Reynolds appears to have succeeded, for Lord Edward Fitzgerald did not attend that meeting, and thereby escaped arrest for some weeks.)

He then says that he again saw Lord Edward on the following Wednesday evening, in Aungier-street, having been sent for by his lordship, and that he received from Lord Edward some accounts of money, and a letter to the county of Kildare committee, in which Lord Edward recommended the committee not to be cast down by the arrests at Bond's, but to fill up the

vacancies occasioned by those arrests as speedily as possible; and assured them that he, Lord Edward, would be found at his post at the proper time.

He then stated that he returned into the country in a few days; that he attended a meeting of the county committee, at which he read Lord Edward's letter, and then resigned his own appointment of treasurer; and that, on the following market-day, he met some of his captains at Athy, and, after reading Lord Edward's letter to them, he put it into the fire, and then resigned his offices of colonel and treasurer of the baronial committee, which committee he had never attended at all; and thus ended his connexion with the United Irishmen.

Mr. Reynolds was then asked, Who was the first person to whom he disclosed what he knew of the United Irishmen's business, and what was the nature of his connexion with that person?

He replied, To Mr. William Cope: I had a very great connexion with him, and he had much influence over my mind. I had mortgaged a property to him for 5000*l.* (this property appears elsewhere to have consisted of a reversionary lease for lives, contingent upon the son of Sir Duke Giffard surviving his father, of about 800 acres of land at Corbettstown, in the county of Meath); and after the death of the late Sir Duke Giffard I went down with Mr. Cope to the present Sir Duke to get possession from the tenants. We there met Lord Wycombe, Mr. Fitzgerald, and others, and there was much conversation upon politics. We

slept there, and Mr. Cope and I came to town together. In coming up Mr. Cope renewned the conversation about politics, and represented, in colours that struck me very much, the horrors of revolution, the murders and devastation which would take place; he shocked me extremely. I told him I believed I knew a person, who was not of a sanguinary disposition, who did not wish for murder or bloodshed, who upon representing all that passed would desert the United Irishmen, and, in order to make amends for any crime he might have committed by joining them, would give to government such information as he was possessed of, which I did believe was very considerable. Mr. Cope seized upon this, and immediately said that such a man would and ought to be placed higher in his country than any man that ever was in it. I told him that neither honours nor rewards were looked for, or would be accepted of by the man, if he came forward; but that I would call upon him in a day or two on the business. We travelled together the whole day, from eight o'clock in the morning until six in the evening, and the conversation was principally upon these topics, so that there was a vast deal said. Two or three days after my arrival in town I called upon Mr. Cope, told him I had seen my friend, and had prevailed upon him to come forward on certain conditions; and that he had, I believed, considerable information to give. Mr. Cope misunderstood me in what I said, and immediately said, "the man shall have greater conditions than he can wish for;" he said, "he shall have a seat in parliament,

be raised to honours, and have 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* a-year." I told him he misunderstood me; these were not the conditions, but I would tell him, and they were these: that he should not be prosecuted himself as an United Irishman upon any account whatever; that he should never be obliged or forced to prosecute any other person as an United Irishman; and that the channel through which the information came should be kept a secret, at least for a time; and, as the person would, immediately upon its being known to the United Irishmen, be murdered, if he remained in this country, and I was sure it would come out in a very short time, he would, as soon as he could arrange his affairs, go to England till matters were settled, and would require, for that time, that any additional expenses he should be at should be defrayed.

Mr. Cope then pressed to know what these would be, saying that any sum whatever, no matter how large, would be given. I said that it was impossible to tell; but after some conversation I stated—that he should be allowed to draw on him for any sum not exceeding five hundred guineas. Mr. Cope again pressed considerable rewards,* and expressed surprise that they would not be taken; but when he found I was positive he then acquiesced, and received all the information that I could give about what was then going on.

By the Court.—Did you tell Mr. Cope then that

* On Bond's trial Mr. Cope expressed himself very strongly on this point: he said, "No consideration would induce Mr. Reynolds to come forward. I tempted him in every way."

you were the person yourself?—Not then, my Lord, because I wished to keep it as secret as possible, by making him think it was from a third person.

By the Counsel.—You communicated to Mr. Cope the natural difficulties that would ensue to the person making the discovery, and the necessity of providing for his withdrawing from the country?—I did, Sir; I did not say exactly his going from the country, but retiring out of the way and being indemnified. The loss already sustained since the arrests at Bond's is to the amount of 600*l.*, and I have received 500 guineas.

From the part you were apparently taking, did any thing happen to you?—There did, two circumstances. I retired to Kilkea; I had never told any human being what had passed between Mr. Cope and me, not even Mrs. Reynolds; I appeared in my usual intercourse in the country; I attended, as I have already stated, one meeting of the county committee and one with my captains.* Shortly after I went down Kennaa came and told me he heard I was the man who had betrayed the meeting at Bond's; that he heard it as a rumour, but would inform me more if he heard anything; and on the 16th April the delegate of Narragh and Rheban, whose name I do not know, but whose person I did, came from the county meeting to me, to let me know that I must attend on the Monday follow-

* At these meetings he resigned his appointments and withdrew from the society. He was compelled to attend these meetings that his absence might not betray the course he had adopted. His communications with government had entirely ceased upon the arrest at Bond's.

ing at the county meeting, which was to be held at Bells, on the Curragh, there to stand my trial on an accusation brought from Dublin by Michael Reynolds* from the provincial committee, relative to my having betrayed the meeting at Bond's; that he was sure, as every other member in the county was, that I would acquit myself, and it was for that reason they called upon me. I had before that intended to quit the country, but Mrs. Reynolds' illness prevented me (Mrs. Reynolds was confined of her second son on the 15th of April), and I remained arranging my affairs, and intended to have gone to Dublin instead of going to the Curragh; but on the Saturday previous to the meeting Captain Erskine and Lieutenant Neale, of the Louth militia, with a number of men, came to live at free quarters at my house, and put me under arrest; they stayed about eight or ten days, and destroyed an immensity of my property, drank my wine, ate my provision, and broke my furniture.† After they left me, and I had put the house in what order I could, I was coming to

* Upon Mr. Reynolds' resignation this person was chosen delegate to the provincial committee.

† The military paid Mr. Reynolds a second visit, garrisoned his house, and remained for several months. After their final departure an estimate of the damage they did was made by sworn appraisers, and verified before the person appointed by parliament for that purpose, and their valuation laid before the lord chancellor, and the secretary of state—the damage done considerably exceeded 12,000*l.* The whole of the moveable property the military left behind them, in the shape of furniture, wines, or stock, upon four hundred acres of land, was sold by auction, and produced 27*l.*

Dublin for the purpose of going out of the kingdom before any other meeting could take place, or I be murdered. At Naas I met Mr. Taylor of Athy; he asked me where I was going, I said to Dublin. He told me it was his intention as soon as he got home either to have come or to have written to me to let me know the great danger I was in, for that my having betrayed the meeting at Bond's was the public talk of Dublin, and that if I went there I should be murdered, and the house I went to would be pulled down, if they could not get at me without doing so; and that even an aunt of mine, Anne Fitzgerald, of King-street nunnery, had repeated this with great bitterness. This terrified me so that I went back to Naas, afraid to travel by night; and the next day I went back to my own house. On the morning following, while I was at the post-office at Castle Dermot (a small town within a mile of Kilkea), I was arrested by a party of the ninth dragoons, and carried to Athy, upon informations sworn against me by some of my own captains. This circumstance ultimately determined me to avow myself. I was sent up to Dublin on the following day. I heard that the United Irishmen had circulated a number of false and malicious reports respecting my character, and I determined to come forward here and relate, as I have done, my whole conduct really and fairly as it was, and to lay it before my country. Antecedent to this, I had made conditions that I should not be compelled to prosecute; I cannot say that my name was not known to government, but I should rather think not; Mr. Cope

alone knew my name, and I am sure he would not betray it. I was determined not to be a witness. I rather think Mr. Cope suspected I was myself the person, but I did not tell him. I suspect so because there was a letter of mine found in Mr. Bond's house, apologising for my absence from the meeting of the 12th March, signed T. R.

[There was another Thomas Reynolds, a member of the provincial committee, who was arrested at Bond's house, on the 12th March. The name was not uncommon in Ireland.

The preceding was the whole of Mr. Reynolds' examination-in-chief on this occasion, divested of the formalities of question and answer. It is taken from "Howell's State Trials," vol. xxvii., to which I refer any person who may wish to compare the above with the original examination.

I will next give the cross-examination of this gentleman verbatim as reported by Mr. Howell.]

THOMAS REYNOLDS, ESQ., *cross-examined by* MR. CURRAN.

You talked of yourself as a married man: who was your wife?—Her name was Witherington.

Whose daughter?—The daughter of Catherine and William Witherington of Grafton-street.

She has brothers and sisters?—One sister and two brothers.

How long have you been married?—I was married upon the 25th of March, 1794.

You were young when your father died?—I was about 16 years of age.

I think your mother carried on business after your father's death?—She did.

Do you recollect at that time whether, upon any occasion, you were charged (perhaps erroneously) with having taken any of her money?—No, Sir; I do not recollect having heard any such charge.

You have sisters?—I have, and had sisters.

Some of them were living at the time of your father's death?—All that are now living were; there were more, but they died.

Do you recollet having had any charge made of stealing trinkets, or anything valuable, belonging to those sisters?—Never; I never was charged with taking anything valuable belonging to any of my sisters.

Were you ever charged with having procured a skeleton-key to open a lock belonging to your mother?—I was.

I do not ask you whether the charge were true or not; but you say there was a charge of that kind?—I say, I was told my mother said so.

She did not believe it, I suppose?—She did not say anything she did not believe.

And she said it?—I heard so, and I have no reason to doubt it.

It was to open a drawer?—No; it was a key to open an iron chest.

Where there were knives and forks kept?—It is not usual to keep such things there: I believe papers were

kept there. Mr. Warren was my mother's partner, kept her in ignorance, and did not supply her with money.

Do you not believe that your mother made this charge? —I believe she thought it at the time. She was a woman of truth, though at times extremely passionate. I wish to say this: you ask me whether I ever was accused of stealing money, or other valuables, or trinkets, from my sisters: I was not; but I was accused of stealing my mother's trinkets. I was then about 16 years of age.*

During the partnership between Mr. Warren and your mother, do you recollect anything about a piece of lutestring?—I do perfectly well.

Was any charge made of stealing that?—The very same charge: I was charged with stealing the lutestring to give it to a girl, and that I took my mother's jewels for the same purpose.

Then the charge consisted of two parts, the taking and the manner in which they were given away?—If you will have it so.

I am not asking you whether you committed any facts of this kind or not, but whether the charges were made?—I tell you the charges were made, and I took the things.

* This was a voluntary statement on the part of Mr. Reynolds; it evidently proceeded from a desire to court investigation. It is remarkable that Mr. Curran never followed it up by inquiring into the circumstances; they will be found correctly stated in a note upon the evidence of Thomas Warren, in page 414.

Then you committed the theft, and you were charged with the stealing?—Both of the facts were true.

I did not ask you as to the skeleton-key?—That charge was untrue.

It did not fit the lock?—I had no such key; the charge was unfounded, the others were true.

How long is Mrs. Witherington, your mother-in-law, dead?—Twelve months last April.

Where did she die?—In Ashe-street; a part of the house was my office, and connected with the house.

How long did she live there?—About 10 months.

Do you recollect what the good old lady died of?—I do not know, but heard it was a mortification in her bowels; she was complaining badly for some days.

Had there been any medicine brought to her?—I recollect perfectly well, after she was ill, medicine was brought to her.

By whom?—By me.

Are you a physician?—No; but I will tell you. A Mr. Fitzgerald,* a relation of our family, who had been an apothecary and quitted business, left me a box of medicines containing castor oil, cream of tartar, rhubarb, tartar emetic, and such things. I had been subject to a complaint in my stomach, for which he gave me a quantity of powders in small papers, which I kept for use, and found great relief from. I asked Mrs. Rey-

* This gentleman attended Mrs. Witherington and prescribed the medicine given by Mr. Reynolds; he was subpœnaed by the prisoners, was in attendance during the three trials, but was not called.

nolds for one of these papers to give to Mrs. Witherington, and it was given to her.

It did not save her life ? — No sir, and I am sorry for it.

You had paid her a sum of money ?—I did.

How much ?—300*l.*

How long before her death ?—About a fortnight or three weeks: I got her receipt, and made my clerk* account for it in my books.

Were you ever charged with stealing that money ?—I never heard that such a charge was made; none of the family ever spoke of it to my face.

Captain Witherington is the son of your mother-in-law ?—He is.

Did he make that charge ?—Not to myself. I will mention a circumstance; she had a bond, and gave it to Mr. Jones to purchase a commission; he said the money could not be got, and the 300*l.* was asked to purchase the commission, and I always thought that her son Edward Witherington got the money. She died suddenly, and had not made a will. †

* Peter Sullivan, who was called as a witness on this trial.

† Three weeks before her death Mrs. Witherington's eldest son, at that time a captain in the 9th light dragoons, came to Dublin, and applied to his mother for a sum of money to pay for a cornetcy for his brother Henry, at that time vacant in his regiment. Upon his arrival his mother sent to Mr. Reynolds for 300*l.* to give to him, and Mr. Reynolds' cashier carried her the money and took her receipt for it. Mrs. Witherington lived with her husband and her youngest son in Ashe-street. Her husband and her youngest son were alone with her when she died. Her husband slept in the adjoining room, and her son in the

She died suddenly?—She died unexpectedly.

She died in forty-eight hours after taking this powder which you gave her to cure her?—She took the paper on Friday evening, and died on Sunday morning.

Do you know anything of a woman of the name of Cahill?*—I do very well.

Did you ever execute to her any security for money?—I did; two, a bond and a note.

Did you ever get this bond and note back again?—Several times I have had the bond in my possession, and several times I have had the original note. If you choose I will tell you the particulars: she had 175*l.*; she gave 100*l.* to my mother, upon the joint bond of my mother and myself; she gave me 50*l.* upon my own bond, and 25*l.* upon my note.

She is nearly blind?—I have heard so; I have not seen her for some time.

same room with her. As soon as she expired her husband put his seal upon all her desks, and drawers, and papers, and they remained in his custody in that state until Captain Witherington, her eldest son, came to town four or five days after her death. Captain Witherington, upon his arrival, shut himself up alone in her apartment, opened all the seals, and remained for several hours examining her papers,—he then declared she had left no will, and expressed his surprise that he did not find the 300*l.* which his mother had received three weeks before. He was reminded that he had received that money himself at the time, and carried it away with him, and he made no reply. A few days afterwards he asked Mr. Reynolds for the loan of 100*l.* to make up the price of his majority, saying, that, although he had 300*l.* at his banker's for that purpose, yet he was still 100*l.* short of the purchase-money. He obtained the loan on his promissory note payable in twelve months.

* This person was an old servant in Mr. Reynolds' family; she was subpœnaed by the prisoners, and was in attendance, but not called.

Did you ever give her any other bond?—I cannot say that; but, if you please, I will tell you what I know. She is an old woman, who has passed the greater part of her life in my mother's family. In June, 1793,* she had saved 175*l.*; she gave 100*l.* to my mother upon our joint bond, 50*l.* upon mine, and 25*l.* upon my note, saying she would call that in for her expenses. She took up 5*l.*, and got a fresh note for 20*l.* Some time after my marriage Mrs. Reynolds went to see her, found her ill, and no one to take care of her; she brought her to my house, allotted her a room there, and she was taken care of until she recovered. She then consulted some friends (Mrs. Molloy, I believe, was one), about settling her affairs, and she intended to sink the money for an annuity of 25*l.* for her life, that she might have some support if she left us. After some time the securities were made out, but she changed her mind, and said she would make a will: I got the bond from her to compare the dates and calculate the interest due; I gave her back, by mistake, an old double bond and warrant which had been filled up for another purpose, but lay in the desk in the office, as a precedent, in case such things should be wanted. I paid her the interest regularly; and when she demanded the principal, I gave it her.

You gave her back a bond not the real bond you got from her?—I did, Sir.

She was old and nearly blind?—She was. I paid

* Mr. Reynolds was twenty-two in March of this year.

her the contents of her own bond; I gave her the interest as she wanted it; and when she wanted the principal I gave it to her.

You did not say whether you put the real bond into the desk in the place of the copy?—I did: I did not discover the matter until I was searching my papers when I was preparing to quit business (in the summer of 1797).

Then there never was an application made by an attorney to you upon the subject?—Indeed there was, and the most unwarrantable application that ever was. I received a letter from Mr. Sullivan,* that there was a mistake, which I must rectify; I answered that I would rectify it, that I would be shortly in town, and rectify everything. I was much hurried at that time in getting my house repaired. A meeting took place of the creditors of Patrick and Richard Folie; I came up for one day, called at Mr. Sullivan's, and left a letter with his wife, mentioning my hurry, and requesting to know what money Mrs. Cahill wanted, and that I would execute a new security to her. I heard no more for some time till I received a letter from an attorney to settle it. I came to town, found her in a lodging in Smithfield, and told her I came to settle the business. She desired me to go to Mrs. Molloy, in King-street, and to settle it as she chose: I went to her, and settled with her for principal and interest.

You were of age at this time?—Certainly.

* This person was Mr. Reynolds' cashier, and had been in his service and that of his family seventeen years.

Did your second note bear date at the time it was executed?—No.

It was was antedated to the time of your being under age?—I cannot say exactly; but I do not believe it.

When did you come of age?—In 1792: the second was to bear date as of the time of the original transaction when the money was borrowed (in June, 1793).

How comes it that you cannot speak more exactly as to the time?—I cannot swear exactly as to the time of the note being dated.

A letter was written to you upon the subject?—She answered a letter of mine.

It was a very angry letter?—I do not recollect the contents: it was an answer to mine.

Do you recollect your aunt Fitzgerald's writing?—I do not.

Or your grand-aunt's?—No.

Did either of these women charge you with giving this old blind, wretched woman a forged bond instead of the real one?—What they said I cannot tell. My aunt wrote an angry letter to me, but the contents I cannot mention more particularly.

Does it begin in this way, "I cannot begin as I used for it shocks and grieves me?"—I do not recollect that.

"Would to God your father had no such son!" Do you recollect that?—No.

"It is well you were not the death of the woman?"—No, I do not recollect that.

"I am sure it would have killed her, if we had not

persuaded her it was owing to some mistake?"—They persuaded her very right.

"But she remains in her bed. My aunt, hearing of her distress, sent her a guinea for charity."—I have heard that my aunt sent her money.

Did she use expressions of this kind in her letter?—I cannot say.

"She borrowed money here and there, and nothing but money would do, as no money could be got upon a note seeming to bear date in your minority." Was that the subject of the letter?—Upon my oath I cannot say. I read the letter, but thought no more of it.

There was a charge made against you for changing Elizabeth Cahill's bond, and giving a forged one in the place of it?—Never.

Well, in giving an old copy which was useless?—That was not a forged bond.

Do you not believe that letter had another subject of inquiry, namely, giving a fraudulent note, dated as of the time of your minority?—I never heard such a charge was made. I say, positively, that I never intended to defraud her, nor did I defraud her. I paid her the interest regularly, and when she demanded the principal I settled it.

An attorney threatened a prosecution?—An attorney wrote to me to settle it.

Finding the matter had got wind, and a prosecution threatened, you paid part of the money?—More than part. I settled to her satisfaction and that of her friends.

By the Court. How long ago?—Last February, my Lord.

By Mr. Curran. When did you receive that letter from the attorney?—Some time in the month of January, I believe.

What kind of answer did you write to Mr. Fitzgerald?—I mentioned how anxious I was to have the matter settled.

Pray, Sir, where is that bond you gave by mistake?—That bond I gave by mistake is destroyed.

Destroyed by mistake?—No, Sir.

How came it?—I will tell you. Mrs. Reynolds brought to me that bond and a note, and told me Mrs. Cahill had given them to her, saying I was the right owner.

By the Court. What note do you speak of now?—The note of 20*l.* that I had paid her justly and fairly. That Mrs. Cahill had been applied to, and offered a great deal of money, by Mrs. Oliver Bond, to give her that bond, and she threatened to drag her to prison if she did not prosecute me for that business; but that Mrs. Cahill would not give the bond to any other than myself; that Mrs. Cahill had been extremely ill, and in a kind of fit from the passion of Mrs. Bond; that she denied to Mrs. Bond her having the paper, as she would give them to the right owner, myself. Mrs. Reynolds brought me the note and bond. I replied they were of no use to any one (as they were not, having paid them both), and I then threw them both into the fire.

By Mr. Curran. Was there any dispute between you and Mr. Cope touching a money transaction?—There was, which Mr. Cope will explain *.

What was the bond and note you burned?—It was the note I passed to Mrs. Cahill for 20*l.*, and the bond was not the original one.

But the one that had been used for a precedent?—Yes.

If it were an unexecuted bond, why were you so anxious † to get it from Mrs. Cahill's possession?—I was not anxious at all about it; she sent it to me and I destroyed it, being of no use.

Did Mr. Cope threaten to prosecute you in regard to swindling him out of 1000*l.* ‡?—Never.

Did he ever threaten to prosecute you?—Never.

* When Mr. Cope was called, Mr. Curran did not think it safe to ask him to explain it.

† This question does not arise out of anything that had previously appeared. The witness does not appear to have made any effort whatever to get the bond or note out of the possession of this old woman; on the contrary, he seems to have settled them in February, and to have left them in the hands of Mrs. Cahill until July, and then to have obtained them accidentally, and owing to no effort or desire on his part.

‡ This question is, like most of the preceding ones, *ad captandam.* Mr. Curran knew well how to insinuate a charge when he could not prove it; he was well aware of the effect of first impressions: in this case he hoped, by giving a strong epithet to a transaction in the first instance, to make an unfavourable impression upon the minds of the jury, which no subsequent explanation should be able to efface, but in this instance he failed singularly; he had Mr. Cope six different times in the witness-box with the full power of cross-examining him, but he never ventured to ask him a single question on this subject.

There was a dispute between you for 1000*l.*?—There was; and I will tell you the circumstance.

Did you ever attempt to take credit twice for 1000*l.*? —No: I cannot answer your question without mentioning the circumstance of the 1000*l.*; and after that let Mr. Cope give his opinion of it. Mr. Cope had very considerable dealings for many years with my father. Upon my father's death a balance remained due to Mr. Cope of something about 1000*l.* My mother continued dealing until she was unable to carry on the business further; she had got from me two-thirds of my wife's fortune, but still could not go on; she made over a list of debts to me, and other matters, to pay a particular sum. The debts fell short, and, the other property not being productive, I asked Mr. Cope to take a mortgage for his whole demand, then nearly 5000*l.*, upon Sir D. Giffard's property. He said he would, and I passed my bond as a collateral security. After this I continued dealing with Mr. Cope a considerable time, I suppose two years; and then, thinking it hard that my person should be bound for those debts which were not mine, I went to Mr. Cope and offered him 1000*l.* to release my personal security and remain upon the other security; not 1000*l.* of the debt, but a particular sum exclusive of it; which he agreed to. My interest in the lands mortgaged was only contingent, being a lease executed by the present Sir Duke Giffard in the lifetime of his father. We went on dealing, and when I closed I asked Mr. Cope for a list of the securities to

show my friends, which he gave me. He demanded payment of 1000*l.*, a balance then due. I told him he had the benefit of all my father's dealing and my mother's, and that he ought to place the 1000*l.* I gave him to the balance he claimed. We had much conversation about it. He said he would take a week to consider. I went to the country; received a letter in Athy from Mr. Valentine O'Connor *, telling me the transaction was not right, and chiding me upon it. I instantly, without returning to my uncle's †, from where I had set out, rode off to Dublin, went to Mr. Cope's in Merion-square, found him at dinner, and made him easy upon the subject before I left him. He knows best the nature of my conduct in this business.

Did you ever deny to any person that the bond you got from Mrs. Cahill was not given back ‡ to her?—Not to my knowledge.

Then you always knew that the bond you had got from her was the bond you gave her?—How do you mean?

She gave you the bond you gave her?—She did, when I was settling the interest account, in order to compare the dates.

Did you settle that account in her presence?—No, she always had that reliance upon me; I always made it clear to her to what time I paid her.

Did you ever deny that you had got the real bond?

* Mr. Valentine O'Connor was a near relative of Mr. Reynolds.

† At Geraldine in Kildare.

‡ Mrs. Cahill's bond, &c., was evidently Curran's *cheval de bataille.*

—No, I think not; I might have said that I did not know of it.

By the Court. You got two bonds from her? —Yes my Lords, I got the real bond from her, and a short time since I got the double bond and warrant which had been given to her by mistake.

By Mr. Curran. You executed a bond for 50*l.* You got that back. Did you ever deny that fact?— I have no recollection of ever having denied that bond.

What names did the bond which was given her by mistake contain?—I cannot tell.

Whose writing is that?—(showing a letter to the witness)—It is mine.

It was written to Mr. Sullivan?*—(witness' cashier) —It was.

"Tell my Aunt Molloy she has mistaken; it was my mother's bond for 100*l.*" Was that your letter?— Just after my mother's death Mrs. Cahill gave me my mother's bond for 100*l.* to get the amount from her executor,† or to enter judgment upon it if necessary. I afterwards gave it back. Mr. Sullivan had stated to me that I made a mistake in returning that bond, and I set him right in this letter. I returned the bond for 100*l.* to Mrs. Molloy by Mrs. Cahill's directions.

* Mr. Curran here produced the letter which Mr. Reynolds said he wrote to Mr. Sullivan and left with Mrs. Sullivan, confirming Mr. Reynolds' statement of his readiness to rectify the mistake as soon as it was discovered.

† Mr. Prendergast, who married one of the witness' sisters, and, with Mr. Weir, who married the other, was executor and residuary legatee under Mrs. Reynolds' will.

This letter says, "Betty did not give me my mother's bond"?—She gave me my mother's bond, which I returned to Mrs. Molloy.

How long is it since you burned the bond and note?—The very day Mrs. Reynolds brought them to me.

When was that?—Fourteen or fifteen days ago; before any summons was issued to Mrs. Reynolds to appear as a witness.

Do you not believe it was well known you were to be a witness against the prisoner and others?—I can form no belief upon it, being in confinement.

Did not Michael Reynolds* tell you so?—He did not. I understood he made a charge against me for giving information.

At the time you sent Mrs. Reynolds for the bond and note, did you expect these matters would be inquired into?—I never sent her for them.

Did she go for them?—I do not believe she thought of them when she went to see Mrs. Cahill.

She said Mrs. Bond had offered a sum of money for the papers; were not this bond and note part of them?—Upon my word I believe so.

Do you not believe they were to be produced to impeach you?—I cannot tell how they could impeach me. I cannot tell what evidence Mrs. Bond could produce; when she endeavoured to bribe one she might bribe others.

Do you not believe their object was to impeach your

* Michael Reynolds might have been produced; he was at that time in confinement in Dublin, having surrendered upon terms.

evidence?—By virtue of my oath I do not believe, if all the papers you speak of and others were produced, that they could impeach the evidence I have given.

Is that an answer to my question?—Ask me the question and I will tell you.

Do you not believe they were wanted to impeach your evidence?—I believe Mrs. Bond wanted them for this trial, and to injure me, but in what way I cannot tell.

And after that, you burned them?—After that I burned them.

You do not know how it was intended to injure you. Was it not by showing you to be a false witness?—I cannot form any belief upon the business: it might be the design to attempt to do so.

Can you form no belief?—No decided belief. I rather believe so.

That was your opinion when you burned the papers?—My opinion when I burned the papers was, that the papers were my property. They were of no use. I had discharged them, and Mrs. Cahill * coming forward here will clear up the business. But all this time nothing has been produced to impeach the evidence I have given, which would be more conducive to the present matter.†

You said something of your having taken some oath of an United Irishman?—I did.

* Mrs. Cahill was subpœnaed by the prisoner, and was in attendance, but Mr. Curran did not venture to call her.

† Mr. Curran knew his business better: he knew that his only chance of saving his client was to take away the character of this witness.

Did you conceive, at the time, that you were binding yourself to any treasonable project against his Majesty or the government of the country?—I did, Sir.

Would you have me to understand that you were conceiving you were binding yourself by the solemn obligation of an oath to the destruction of your king?—Not to destroy actually the king's person, *but as pledging myself to the schemes of the United Irishmen.*

You considered them to go to the extent you have already declared in your evidence?—*At the time I conceived I was joining a party of men united to overthrow the government.**

Did you in the sincerity of your heart take that obligation meaning to perform it?—I did.

* Mr. Reynolds is here speaking of what he, and most men who joined them, believed to be the only objects of the United Irishmen, namely, the overthrow of the preponderancy of England in the Irish government by means of a reform in the legislature, founded upon religious and political freedom. The great subject of complaint in those days was, that Ireland was "governed by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, whose sole object was the interest of another country." This grievance was prominently put forward in the declaration of the United Irishmen as the fundamental object of their union. The overthrow of such a government, by means of Catholic emancipation, from the most debasing thraldom, and reform in Parliament, or, if not otherwise attainable, by an armed demonstration of physical power, in imitation of that of 1782–3, under Lord Charlemont, was the avowed object of the United Irishmen —an object, and a course of proceeding which it was extremely difficult to make the Irish people believe to be treasonable, with the example of Lord Charlemont and the Volunteers so recently before them. The secret purposes of the leaders of the United Irishmen were very different. Mr. Reynolds became acquainted with them after his admission to the society; and he stated what they were in his examination-in-chief. Mr. Curran's questions were put with much ingenuity to make the witness appear to confound the two objects. See the declarations, resolutions, and consti-

Had you ever taken the oath of allegiance ?*—I had, Sir.

Whether before or after ?—Before.

Before you took the United Irishman's oath you had taken the oath of allegiance ?—I had.

You had been a yeoman ?—Not at that time, but since.

tution of the United Irishmen in the Appendix. See also the observations of Mr. Baron Smith and the other judges upon the time and manner in which Mr. Reynolds became acquainted with the designs of the United Irishmen.

* The following was the United Irishman's oath. It does not appear to have been inconsistent with the oath of allegiance :—

In the awful presence of God,

I, A. B., do voluntarily declare that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.

The following was Mr. Curran's own opinion of this oath, expressed upon two several occasions :—

"Every one knows what the United Irishman's oath is; that it is simply an engagement, first, to promote a brotherhood of affection among men of all religious distinctions; secondly, to labour for parliamentary reform; and, thirdly, an obligation of secrecy, which was added to it when the convention law made it criminal and punishable to meet by any public delegation for that purpose."

Again he says, "that in taking that oath the party was only abjuring that bigotry which had torn and disgraced his country, pledging himself to restore the people to their place in the constitution, and binding himself never to be the betrayer of his fellow-labourers *in that enterprise*."

See Curran's speech in defence of Finnerty for a libel.—State Trials, vol. xxvi.

Did you take the oath of a yeoman?—No.

Did you take the oath of allegiance with an intention to keep it?—I did at the time.

And the United oath?—I did.

With equal solemnity?—The United oath was rather more solemn. And I took another oath afterwards: I took an oath of secrecy.

How long is your mother dead?—She died last November.

What did she die of?—I cannot tell.

Had you prescribed anything for her?—No: I was not in the way of prescribing anything for her. I was not with her.

You have a sister married to a Mr. Prendergast?—Yes.

Had she any deed of annuity?—Never, that I know of.

Do you know anything of one?—Indeed, I have known of one made out but never executed.

You have seen it?—I have seen a copy which Mr. Prendergast says he means to demand. It was not so much a deed of annuity as an agreement between me and my mother.

THOMAS REYNOLDS, ESQ., *re-examined on the part of the Crown.*

Whose writing is this?—(*showing a letter*)—I believe Miss Dwyer's, who lives with Mrs. Cahill, and transacts her business. It came to my wife, as I heard, by her directions.

By a juror.—The papers that Mrs. Cahill gave your wife, do you really think she gave them of her own accord?—I think so.

With full voluntary will?—Freely and voluntarily:—she really forced them upon my wife.

[The preceding pages contain the whole of the evidence given by Mr. Reynolds on the trial of M'Can. His cross-examination is copied verbatim from Howell's "State Trials." This cross examination may be considered as the bill of indictment preferred against Mr. Reynolds; let us now consider what were the several charges brought against him; we will then see how those charge were supported by the evidence. The principal charges, that on which Mr. Curran evidently placed his main reliance, was a fraudulent attempt to impose upon Elizabeth Cahill a simulated instrument, instead of Mr. Reynolds' own bond for 50*l.*, and to cheat her out of 20*l.* by antedating a renewed promissory note for that amount, (which note was given by Mr. Reynolds to Elizabeth Cahill in lieu of a note for 25*l.* when the old woman required to be paid 5*l.* on account of her capital,) so that the renewed note appeared to be dated antecedent to Mr. Reynolds' attaining his age of twenty-one years. Mr. Reynolds gave a very minute account of these transactions; in reply to Mr. Curran's questions, he admitted that he had, by mistake, given Mrs. Cahill a spoiled bond which lay in his desk in the place of her own bond; he said that he did not discover the mistake

for some time, and that he rectified it at the earliest opportunity after he discovered it, paying her the interest regularly, and the principal when she asked for it; he acknowledged that he was written to by an attorney before he rectified the mistake; but he said that he had previously written to his late cashier, requesting to know in what way Mrs. Cahill desired to settle it, and offering to settle the business as she pleased; and he denied the charge as to the note. The cross-examination has not thrown any doubt upon the truth of that account. We shall presently see how the evidence called by Mr. Curran affected it. The next charge in point of importance was an attempt to defraud Mr. Cope of 1000*l*. Mr. Reynolds gave a very distinct account of that transaction, which, if true, cleared him of all suspicion of unfair dealing in that case; and he referred to Mr. Cope to corroborate his statement. We shall presently see how Mr. Curran used that gentleman's evidence, and what other evidence, if any, he called in support of that charge. The next charge was that Mr. Reynolds hastened the death of his wife's mother by the administration of tartar emetic. Mr. Reynolds has stated the circumstances under which this medicine was administered, which, if true, certainly exonerated him from all censure in that case. If false, Mr. Curran had the medical attendant of Mrs. Witherington in court, who could have contradicted Mr. Reynolds, and proved that he had not ordered the medicine. He was also charged with stealing 300*l*. from her, which charge he denied to be

true, and he also denied that he had ever been charged with it to his face. We shall presently see whether Mr. Curran attempted to contradict him on any of these points. He was then charged with having hastened his own mother's death, which charge seems to have had no foundation whatever. Mr. Reynolds said he was not with her when she died. He was also asked respecting an annuity granted to his sister, and he said that no such deed was ever executed. And, lastly in point of importance, he was charged with having, at the age of sixteen, taken some articles of jewellery and finery belonging to his mother, which charge he acknowledged to be true, and says that he took those articles to give them to a female. These were the charges which, if established, were to induce the jury to disbelieve altogether the evidence of Mr. Reynolds, and to save the prisoner from conviction. Mr. Reynolds circumstantially denied the truth of all these charges except the last. Mr. Curran had only to call those persons upon whose supposed statements they were made to contradict Mr. Reynolds, and support the charges, if they were able, and his client was saved. Mr. Curran also attempted to shake Mr. Reynolds' credibility, by cross-examining him as to the oath of allegiance and the United Irishman's oath. The oaths do not appear to be inconsistent with each other, and I have already shown what was Mr. Curran's own opinion on that point. It appears moreover that hundreds upon hundreds of persons joined the United Irishmen's Society, and took their test, without any intention of parti-

cipating in projects usually considered treasonable, and that such projects were not fully developed until the United Irishmen penetrated to the higher grades of the Society—the county and provincial committees. Mr. Reynolds appears not to have proceeded beyond the baronial committee, previous to his retirement into the country in the summer of 1797; and he does not appear to have attended any meeting of United Irishmen afterwards, until the 18th February, 1798, when he attended the meeting of the county committee of Kildare, and was delegated to the provincial, on which occasion the designs of the leaders were fully laid open to him. He appears never to have attended any meeting after that, except to resign his appointments, after the arrests at Bond's. These are among the circumstances which should be borne in mind in considering how far he was excusable in taking the United Irishman's test, and the oath of allegiance, and in giving information against those with whom he had engaged to act in promoting certain objects. With this view the observations of the learned judge who summed up the evidence upon these two oaths are well deserving of attentive consideration. The justification of his conduct in appearing against the prisoners on their trials will be found in the circumstances which ultimately placed him in the hands of government, of which he has himself given an explanation, but of which we shall be able better to form an opinion when we have seen the remainder of the evidence in this case and that produced in the other two cases.]

Mr. Swann, a magistrate, and John M'Dougal, a serjeant in a Scotch regiment, who took the prisoner into custody on the 12th March at Bond's house, and Mr. Guinness, the prisoner's employer, were then called to relate what took place at the time of his arrest, and to prove his handwriting to certain papers found in the room with him; and then the counsel for the crown called

WILLIAM COPE, ESQ.

Are you acquainted with Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who has been examined here to-day?—I am.

How long?—A great number of years.

Do you recollect whether he, at any and what time, communicated to you anything remarkable respecting himself?—In the month of February last.

Mention what it was he communicated to you.—In the month of February the late Sir Duke Giffard died. Mr. Reynolds had assigned to me a leasehold interest to which he was entitled after the death of Sir Duke Giffard, to secure a debt of 5000*l*. It was that brought us together.

Mr. M'Nally (on behalf of the prisoner).—My Lords, I object to this evidence, though such evidence has been admitted of late years in this country. I have made much research, and cannot find any case where it has been done in England.*

* From Mr. M'Nally's objection to the evidence of Mr. Cope, and his admission of having made much research to ascertain whether such evidence were admissible with a view to this case, it would seem that

The Court said the evidence was admissible, to show consistency in the accounts of the witness.

You had been in the county of Meath with Mr. Reynolds; upon your return from thence do you recollect any particular conversation between you?—I do, Sir; it had reference to the conversation of the preceding evening. I spoke of the appearance of disturbance, and the wretched state the country would be in if the French should land; for wherever the French went they marked their progress with desolation and destruction. I went on a good deal, and applied it to the case of Ireland. I said that it was extraordinary that in all the trials the government had never been able to bring forward any person of consequence; that we must all know that machines were managed by much greater persons than they had been able to procure; and I at length put a question to him, because I had formed my opinion that he was a United Irishman; in consequence of the conversation we had at Sir Duke Giffard's I thought him one, and I put a question thus to him—"You have it in your power to do great service to your country, more than any man alive; children yet unborn will bless you; why not do it?" He said he would not come forward, he could not. I, seeing him determined, let the matter drop for a while. I had the subject much upon my mind. The horrors and desolation which would accompany the landing of the French made a

the counsel for the prisoner had made their bold charges against Mr. Reynolds in the expectation that all evidence in answer to those charges would be shut out.

deep impression on my mind. We concluded with his saying he would call on me. He did so, and said he could not come forward himself, but he knew a man who would. I said if he would not have the honour and glory of it himself I must submit. He said this man would be under expenses, obliged to retire, probably to quit the country. I told him the money should be paid, and I wanted to know the amount; he said about 500 guineas, for the expenses of the journey, &c. He then gave information, which I took down; for he would not write. It went to the point of a meeting to be had at Mr. Bond's house; that information was suggested to government by me.

Do you recollect what species of meeting he mentioned?—He told me that hitherto he had never got higher than a baronial meeting; but he said they had their county meetings, provincial meetings, a directory, and executive. He told me the meeting at Bond's was to be a provincial meeting.

What did you do in consequence?—I communicated it directly to government, and that before the day on which the meeting took place.

Do you recollect what company you had at Sir Duke Giffard's?—Lord Wycombe, son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Captain Fitzgerald, an uncle of Lady Giffard's, and others.

Do you recollect what turn the conversation took?—A good deal was said, that there must be conciliation, reformation, and emancipation; that there must be a change.

You had conversations with Mr. Reynolds upon the subject of this trial?—Yes.

Whether has he been uniform and consistent in his relations to you?—Quite consistent and correct, and everything he told me actually came out.

Not cross-examined.

[Mr. Curran had here in the box the very person whom he charged Mr. Reynolds with having attempted to defraud of 1000*l*. He was armed with all the stringent powers of cross-examination, yet he first permitted his junior to object to the evidence of Mr. Cope altogether, and he then declined to ask Mr. Cope a single question. It is evident that Mr. Curran felt that there was no ground for imputing fraud to Mr. Reynolds in his dealings with Mr. Cope. This gentleman was again called in the course of this trial; we shall then see what course Mr. Curran thought it prudent to adopt.]

Another witness, of the name of Harris, was then called on the part of the crown, who spoke to facts with which Mr. Reynolds had nothing to do, and the case on the part of the prosecution was closed.

Mr. M'Nally stated the case on the part of the prisoner; his speech is not reported in Howell.

He called ELEANOR DWYER.

Do you know a person of the name of Elizabeth Cahill?—I do, Sir.

Is she a very old woman?—She appears to be so; I do not know her age.

Has she the appearance of old age?—She is blind.

Is she firm in her health?—Quite the reverse.

Do you know a person of the name of Harriet Reynolds?—I have seen her, but am not intimate with her.

Were you present at any conversation between her and Mrs. Cahill?—I was.

Do you recollect the purport of it?—I do the purport of it, not the very words.

Will you mention what it was?

Mr. Attorney-General.—My Lords, I must object to this species of evidence, of conversations behind the back of the person to be impeached. *This is as it were the trial of the witness.* The counsel want to fasten perjury upon him by conversations between other persons when he was not present. That will not establish any contradiction imputable to him. If there be any contradiction, let it be proved in a legal manner.

Mr. Curran.—Your Lordships will recollect that Reynolds said he had the account from his wife. We will show that he himself could not believe it as he has sworn in evidence.*

Mr. Baron Smith.—It might go to something relating to the wife, but cannot affect the witness Reynolds.

Was there anything said about handing over a bond or a note?—I had them in my possession; they were

* Why did not Mr. Curran at once call Elizabeth Cahill, who was subpœnaed, and in attendance? She could have explained the whole transaction, and have contradicted Mr. Reynolds, had the account given by him been in any respect untrue.

handed to Mrs. Reynolds, who said she had bank notes, but, as they were so difficult to get changed, she would bring guineas; and the next day she brought seven guineas, for which I gave a receipt, Mrs. Cahill being blind.

Was she pressed to give up the bond and note?

(This question was objected to.)

Mr. Baron Smith.—Put it in the strongest way possible; suppose every word that Mrs. Reynolds said to be false; how could that affect the credit of Mr. Reynolds?

Mr. Curran.—My Lord, I examine as to a fact; I want to prove that these papers were handed over in consequence of money agreed to be paid.

Mr. Attorney-General.—When an insinuation is made not founded on evidence I must stop it. There was no such evidence given. This witness said there were seven guineas paid, but there was no evidence of any previous agreement.

What was said by you relative to the notes?—She said she had not money, but bank notes, and that she would get Mrs. Cahill money.

Was this after the papers were given up?—No, it was before.

I ask you, did the proposal to hand over this bond and note move from Mrs. Cahill, or was it a request made by any body else?—No, nobody applied.

What brought Mrs. Reynolds there?—She came some time after she got the first notice from the Court.

(See her cross-examination on this point, in which she says that it was a day or two before.)

Who got notice?—Mrs. Cahill. Mrs. Reynolds came and saw her in bed; said she was sorry she was ill, and kissed her, and put her arms about her neck, *and asked to see the false bond and note.*

What happened then?—I had the note and bond in my possession; Mrs. Cahill asked me about them; hearing the bond was a false one, I said I did not know anything of it. "Oh," says she, "what do you mean?" I, seeing she was getting into a passion, said, "Do not be angry, here it is." I gave it to Mrs. Cahill, and she gave it to Mrs. Reynolds.

What reason did Mrs. Reynolds assign for it?—I do not recollect that she assigned any.

But it was after the summons?—It was, Sir.

To attend this trial?—To attend this trial.*

ELEANOR DWYER, *cross-examined.*

You are a very affectionate friend to Mrs. Cahill?—I live with her.

How long have you lived with her?—Two months.

Were you there at the time Mrs. Reynolds went there?—I was.

* On a subsequent occasion this woman swore that Mrs. Reynolds called upon Elizabeth Cahill within fours hours after the service of the subpœna, to attend upon behalf of the prisoner; and that neither Mrs. Cahill nor she had given Mrs. Reynolds notice that such a subpœna had been served upon the old woman. See E. Dwyer's evidence in Byrne's case.

Did she press anything about the papers?

Mr. Curran.—My Lords, I object to this evidence; it has no relation to this trial, although it may to another cause.

Mr. Baron Smith.—Considering your direct examination of this witness, I feel myself obliged to overrule your objection.

How long were you there before Mrs. Reynolds came?—I do not recollect.

Had not Mrs. Cahill the bond and note when Mrs. Bond came?—I do not know.

Did not Mrs. Bond ask for the papers to be given to her?—Mrs. Cahill said she would give them up if paid 170*l.*, which was the debt due by Mrs. Reynolds, she being a poor blind woman, as she said.

Then she must have had the papers at that time; Mr. Reynolds had an account with this lady a considerable length of time?—I know nothing of that. (She afterwards says that she believes that there was an account between them.)

Have you never heard that Mrs. Cahill sent to Mr. Reynolds to give her money upon the foot of the account current between them?—I did; and I wrote a note* myself for the purpose.

Was Mrs. Cahill angry with Mr. Reynolds?—She was.

For what?—He did not pay her punctually; and his

* The note was read at the conclusion of this woman's cross-examination, where see it.

wronging her in the false bond and note turned her against him.

You wrote a note for her?—I wrote it; *she desired me to write as feelingly as possible to Mrs. Reynolds*, that she might interfere for her.

She desired you to write in terms of anger?—I believe so.

She was violent against them?—No, I believe she was attached to the family; she had been a servant in the family, and, she said, had been a long time earning the money for her old days.

Did she express herself violently; or did you by her desire use violent expressions in the letter?—No, rather in terms of entreaty.

Then she did not desire you to write angrily?—No!

At what time was this?—A day or two before the notice.

Was it about the time that Mrs. Reynolds came as you say to look for the papers?—It was: I do not know that Mrs. Reynolds came to look for the papers; she came there; I heard it said, but did not hear her say so.*

Whom did you hear it from?—From Mrs. Cahill herself.†

* Compare this with her reply to Mr. Curran, in which she described Mrs. Reynolds as kissing the old woman, throwing her arms round her neck, and asking her to see the false bond and note, and with her subsequent statement in Byrne's case.

† Why did not Mr. Curran call this woman?

What reason have you to disbelieve her?—I can tell nothing about it.

Did you hear that Mrs. Bond wanted the papers to make use of upon this trial?—I did hear it.

Do you believe it?—I do, but cannot swear it.

Do you not believe she offered money for them?—No, I do not; but Mrs. Cahill said if she got 170*l.* she would give them up, or she might be starving.*

Then she would have given them up if she had been paid the amount due?—I suppose so.

She gave them up without being paid?—I believe so.

How came that?—She may answer that herself;† I suppose relying upon the professions of Mrs. Reynolds' affection.

Did she not rely upon Mr. Reynolds himself?—I believe so, until she found him out.

When was that?—I do not know: I have been but two months with her. I heard nothing of it until the notice was served.

Did you hear her speak of the bond before the notice was served?—I did not.‡ (See her answers to this question twice repeated, *infra.*)

* At this time there was only 10*l.* due on Mr. Reynolds' bond for 50*l.* and note for 20*l.*, as will appear hereafter by the evidence of Mrs. Molloy in Byrne's case.

† Mr. Curran took care that she should not.

‡ From this woman's evidence it is quite clear that the whole complaint respecting the wrongs of Mrs. Cahill originated with other parties; and that the poor old woman, having received all her money as she required it, never believed that her old master, the son of her former master, contemplated defrauding her of the paltry sum of 70*l.*

In the period of two months! Where were you born?—In Leixlip.

Did you hear her speak in terms of friendship or otherwise of him?—I heard her say that she should be sorry that any of the family suffered.

*Did you not hear of this bond before the notice was served?—I did.**

How long?—I do not know. I did not attend to it; my own affairs were of more consequence to me.

To be sure they are.—I am glad you say so, because you may be of service to me.

Did you hear her say anything as to the bond before?—I do not know: I think more about myself than him or his bond. She thought much of his being brought to trial.

What trial?—That he should be brought into court. I think it hard to be brought into court.

Why should she think about that?—She might be afraid that he would not give her money.

Are you afraid I should ask you about the letter?—I am not afraid of anything, thank God.

Was your letter a letter of entreaty?—I do not recollect; but if I heard it I would know. If I got the universe I cannot recollect it.†

Is that your handwriting?—It is indeed: it is not much to my credit.

You wrote this by Mrs. Cahill's directions?—I did.

* See her last answer to this very question a few lines back.

† In answer to the question, "Did you by her desire use violent expressions in the letter?" she replied, "No, rather terms of entreaty."

Mrs. Reynolds said it was not Mrs. Cahill's writing. I said, how could it be, as she was blind? and the servant made the same observation.

The bond was given up, and Mrs. Reynolds gave her seven guineas?—She did.

Was there not a current account between them, and did he not pay her money constantly?—I believe so. (She had already said, in answer to this question, that she knew nothing of the existence of such an account.)

Did she demand any debt which he denied to be due?—No answer.

Do you not believe that that money was paid upon the account depending between her and Reynolds?—I do.

Did you not hear he used to pay her interest from time to time upon account of the debt due?—I do not recollect I did. *I heard her say she took up 5l. of the principal.*

You were present at the time the papers were given up. Did Mrs. Cahill say what was due upon the foot of the papers or the account?*—I do not recollect she did, for at the time she appeared to have a reliance upon Mrs. Reynolds' honour, she embraced her so affectionately.

Must she not have a reliance upon the honour of Mr. Reynolds?—I do not know; I heard her say Mrs. Reynolds never deceived her.

* As to this, see Mrs. Molloy's evidence in Byrne's case post, from which it appears that only 10*l.* remained due on the 1st July, which sum was then unpaid, in consequence of Mrs. Molloy having the note for that amount in her possession, and refusing to see Mrs. Reynolds, who called to pay it on the day it became due.

But could a married woman pay money without the assistance of her husband?—I cannot say whether she had money of her own or not: she ought to pay it if she promised it.

(Here the letter was read as follows.)

My dear Madam,

It was with the utmost concern I heard of yours and Mr. Reynolds' very afflicting situation. Nothing but absolute distress could in such a time induce me to be so troublesome; having often experienced your goodness, I must be very ill-natured if I did not feel sorry for your trouble; I therefore tried every means before I sent again to you, but all in vain: I sent to Mr. Pendergast and Mr. Ware,* but got no satisfaction. On Saturday last I endeavoured to go in person, and the reception I met with, although they seen me almost fainting with fatigue, was such as I hope never again to experience. Had it been to you I'd gone, I'd be sure of very different treatment; and I'm persuaded when Mr. Reynolds get his liberty he'll call them to an account. I'm extremely anxious to know how you and the children are, and whether you saved your furniture.† You may judge of my distress when I was obliged to take the ring off my finger and dispose of it for a very great trifle. I have been keeping my bed ever since I seen Mr. Ware, so great was the shock I got at his telling

* Messrs. Prendergast and Weir were universal legatees and joint executors of the late Mrs. Reynolds, whose bond for 100*l.* this old woman held.

† This alludes to the free-quartering at Kilkea Castle.

me he would not give me sixpence; and must suffer more than you can imagine unless you have the goodness to send me something to-day or to-morrow. I conclude, dear Madam, with the sincerest regard for you and family,

Your humble servant,

E. C.

Friday morning.

DR. MAM.

Be kind enough *to seal* whatever you send me.

(Directed) MRS. REYNOLDS.

[This letter sufficiently explains why Mr. Curran would not call Mrs. Cahill. The object of calling Eleanor Dwyer was to prove that conscious guilt induced Mr. Reynolds to send his wife to endeavour to obtain possession of these documents, upon hearing that they were likely to be produced against him at the then approaching trials. The reader may be left to form his own conclusion, whether Mrs. Reynolds went to this old servant, who had been more than half a century in the service of Mr. Reynolds' family, in consequence of the above affecting letter, or in consequence of the service of a subpœna upon the old woman on behalf of the prisoner, of which subpœna Mr. Reynolds could know nothing. Miss Dwyer, upon this occasion, stated that the letter was written a day or two before the service of the notice, and that Mrs. Reynolds came to Mrs. Cahill about the same time. She could not in that case have come in consequence of the subpœna.]

The next witness called was

Mr. Thomas Warren*.

You live now in the country?—I do.

You formerly lived in Dublin?—I did.

What business did you follow?—I was a silk-manufacturer.

Were you ever in partnership with any person?—I was.

With whom?—With Rose Reynolds in that business.

Was any partner admitted into the firm afterwards?—There was, Thomas Reynolds.

You know him pretty intimately?—I do know him.

Do you recollect at any time any articles or goods being missing out of the warehouse of the partnership†?

(This question was objected to.)

* For an account of this Warren, see p. 80, et seq.

† From this question it would seem that Mr. Reynolds was charged with stealing the partnership goods. Mr. Reynolds had acknowledged that he took a piece of lutestring. The circumstances were these: Warren, who was a married man, was in the habit of taking from the warehouse damaged pieces of silks for dresses for his wife. Mrs. Reynolds did the same for her own use; and Mr. Reynolds, fancying that he had as good a right to do so as his partners, on one occasion directed the warehouseman to cut a dress from a piece of damaged lutestring, and send it to a young woman with whom he was connected. Neither Mr. Warren nor the warehouseman made any objection at the time, and the order was given and executed openly. Neither Warren nor any of the people thought it necessary to mention such a circumstance to Mr. Reynolds' mother. Mr. Reynolds was a minor at the time, and not formally admitted into partnership. Mr. Reynolds has also admitted that he, on one occasion, took some of his mother's jewellery. The facts were these: Mr. Reynolds' relative, the Honorable John Meade, had left him an estate in Jamaica (Fort Stewart); he had also left him a quantity of

Do you know Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

Is he to be credited upon his oath in a court of justice?—From what I know of him, I would not credit him upon his oath.

By the Court. From his general character is he a person to be credited upon his oath in a court of justice?—I do not think he ought.

Mr. THOMAS WARREN, *cross-examined.*

Do you know the prisoner?—No, Sir, I never saw him but in the dock.

You never heard of him?—I never heard of him until I saw by the papers he was taken up.

Who applied to you to give evidence?—I received a subpœna where I reside in the country.

When?—On the Saturday before the commission sat. The subpœna is dated the 27th of June.

You got no application, by word of mouth or by letter, before that, to come to town?—No, I did not.

When you did come to town, you had no communication with anybody till you came to give your evidence?

plate and jewellery, which, during his minority, was in the care of his mother. Among the jewels was a diamond pin. This diamond pin his mother placed in a fancy hat which Mr. Reynolds wore at a masquerade, where he met the woman with whom he was connected, and she persuaded him to give her the pin. These two circumstances were, at the time of these trials, magnified into charges of felony. It speaks well for the general conduct of a young man, that these two trumpery charges were all that could be raked up, after a searching scrutiny among the relatives, partner, clerks, and domestic servants of this gentleman, extending over his whole life, from his boyhood until his twenty-seventh year. How few are there who could stand so searching an inquiry and remain unscathed!

—I was subpœnaed at the suit of Oliver Bond; I went to his house and asked what I was wanted for, as I was much surprised they could want me. Mrs. Bond desired me to go to Mr. Johnson the agent, who would tell me; he said it was to the character of Reynolds.

What answer did you make him?—I said it was disagreeable to be called from home to the character a man I have known so long, and with whose connexions I had an intimacy.

Then you retired?—He had anecdotes of Mr. Reynolds' conduct while I was within that house, that fell within my knowledge, and he asked me whether I recollected them.

Was that all that passed?—I did tell him the things so far as I knew them.

Was that all that passed?—I said nothing more.

Was that all that passed, by virtue of your oath?—Nothing more that I recollect, but I am sure nothing respecting this business.

Did he ask you whether you would swear that Mr. Reynolds was not to be believed upon his oath?—I do not know; but he made notes; I rather believe he did ask me whether, upon the whole I knew of him, I would say so.

And why did you hesitate in giving an immediate answer to the question I asked?—I would choose to be particularly correct in answering the question *.

* Thus far this cross-examination exposes the nature and extent of the domestic inquisition to which Mr. Reynolds' character was subjected, and which produced so little to his discredit.

You have been pretty well acquainted with Dublin?—I have till within these four years.

There are societies of United Irishmen in Dublin?—There are, I believe

You know it?—I appeal to the Court whether I am bound to answer any question which may criminate myself*.

The Counsel for the Crown said they would not press the question.

Mr. Mc Nally.—I wish to ask the witness whether he has not heard that there have been two societies of United Irishmen?

Mr. Attorney-General.—I object to the question.

Mr. Mc Nally.—I will ask whether he belongs to a society of United Irishmen?

Mr. Attorney-General.—I object to that, since he has refused to answer the question put to him on our part.

Court.—The Counsel for the prisoner cannot now put any question but such as arises from the cross-examination.

Mr. Mc Nally.—Does the witness know of any other society of United Irishmen *than that which he says existed a few years ago?* †

* Thus it appears that Warren himself was an United Irishman, and came to impeach the character of the person who laid open the schemes of that society—that person being his own first cousin, the son of his benefactor, his more than father, and his own partner in business; against whom the only charge which he could allege was, openly taking a piece of damaged lutestring from the partnership warehouse, in imitation of Mr. Warren himself.

† The witness had not said so.

Mr. Baron Smith.—When a man refuses to answer as to one society, why ask him if he knows of two?

(The remainder of this man's cross-examination appears to have been conducted by the Court.)

Was there any difference of accounts between you and Mr. Reynolds or Mrs. Reynolds?—No, my Lord.

No claim upon you for any balance or default supposed to be made by you?—I believe not.

Were the accounts of the house ever adjusted?—Mrs. Reynolds said they were not, but the son did not say so. I carried the papers with me into the country.

After taking the papers with you into the country, did you return to town to adjust the accounts?—I lost the papers upon the road.

You lost the evidence for adjusting the accounts, and never returned to settle them?—I did not.

I suppose you went into the country four years ago?—I did.

Has the partnership subsisted any time since that?—No.

How long before you went into the country was Mr. Reynolds admitted to the partnership?—In January.*

* Mr. Reynolds came of age in March, 1792. His name was formally introduced into the house in the month of January, 1794; but he had been virtually a partner from the death of his father in 1787, when his mother reserved one-third of the profits for him. The house, warehouses, manufactory, &c., were his private property, for which the partnership paid him rent. Upon his formal admission he discovered Warren's misconduct, and insisted upon his retirement, which took place in the course of that spring. The deficiency in Warren's cash-accounts exceeded 60,000*l.* Upon the dissolution of the partnership the balance due

When did you leave town after that?—In June.

Did you know those things for which you say he ought not to be believed, before he was admitted?—I did. His mother reserved a right of putting him in, and it was against my approbation that he was named.*

How long has she been dead?—Since November or December.

It is now four years since you left town with the accounts unsettled?—It is. I lost the papers, and had no means of settling them. But, subsequent to that, Mrs. Reynolds sent me a message about a bond assigned to me in confidence for her, and she said that if I would execute a deed of trust for her she would release me from all claims. I did fulfil the trust, saying to the person that attended that I was much obliged to her for saying so much, and that, if I had sixpence of the property, I would let my family want rather than keep her from it.

If you never refused to execute the trust, why should she offer to release her claims upon a settlement to have it done?—I do not know.

Did you ever remonstrate with her about taking her

from Warren was assigned to Mrs. Reynolds; but she never recovered any part of it, Warren pretending that he had lost the necessary vouchers in the manner stated in his evidence. Warren was a trustee for some property belonging to Mrs. Reynolds; he had never executed a declaration of the trust, and he refused to do so unless Mrs. Reynolds would give him a general release, which she was ultimately compelled to do.

* He might well be opposed to Mr. Reynolds' admission, since the consequence was his own retirement, within a few months, with an unsettled balance against him exceeding 60,000*l.*

son into partnership?—She knew I was against it, but she received him peremptorily under the clause.

Did she know the character you gave him?—She was disposed to trust him.

Did he ever give evidence in a court of justice before?—Never that I heard.

How came you to take a partnership account into the country?—They were discount papers referring to a cash-account. All the rest were in the books; but those were discounts not in the books, but upon abstract papers, that I collected together and took with me where I might have more leisure and no disturbance, with intent to carry them back, being only the cash-account, which was the only account unadjusted.

Where did you carry them to?—To my brother's in Killeen, in the Queen's County. I took a seat in the mail-coach, and lost them in the mail-coach; I made the most diligent search for them.

Did Mrs. Reynolds make any inquiry since?—I do not know. The parties knew my conduct; I have lost severely by the dealing. My Lord, I was asked respecting a society; I never belonged to any political society these four years.

[Thomas Warren was called to speak to the character of Mr. Reynolds. His cross-examination has exhibited himself in the character of a fraudulent partner and an unfaithful trustee, appearing to speak to the character of the man who had detected his malversations and forced him to retire from the partnership.

This man stated that he was subpœnaed to give evidence in Oliver Bond's case; but his evidence in this case exposed his character and motives so completely, that Mr. Curran did not venture to put him into the witness-box a second time.]

Mrs. Mary Molloy *sworn.*

You know Mr. Reynolds?—*I know a man of that name.*

He is your nephew?—*He is my niece's son.*

You know Mrs. Cahill?—I do.

She gave you a bond and a note to keep?—She did.

You had the care of them?—I had.

When did you return them?—The day I was served with the summons, or what you call it, from this court.

Was it after you were served?—It was; I sent them to her, and she received them.

Was there any notice at the foot of the summons to produce these papers at the trial?—No, not upon the foot; but after I returned them I got the notice.

How did it happen that you returned them immediately after you got the summons?—I never received a summons before, and, for fear I should be put to further trouble, I gave them up.

You thought you were to produce them?—I supposed I should if I kept them; and when I gave them up I thought it no harm.

That was your motive for giving them up to Mrs. Cahill?—It was.

How came you to get these papers into your custody?

—The poor woman had lived with my family for many years ; she had a confidence in me ; she was going to the country, and left the papers with me lest any accident should happen.

Did you ever read the note ?—I did.

When did it appear to bear date ?—I do not know ; I did not know that it was antedated till a gentleman I showed it to, told me.

By the Court.—Do you or can you form a belief whether it was antedated, or not ?—I cannot ; but, when I showed it to the young man, he said it appeared to be dated in the minority.

By the Counsel.—Did anybody come to you to get these papers after you gave them up ?—No.

Or to inquire about them ?—No.

Cross-examined.

Are you acquainted with Mr. Thomas Warren ?—I am.

Did you know him to be concerned in trade with old Mrs. Reynolds ?—I did.

Did you ever hear of complaints made against him by Mrs. Reynolds ?—*I must recollect myself*—yes I have heard her complain that he did not make up his cash-account with her.

He went to the country ?—He did.

And did not make up his accounts ?—I do not know.

[This lady was a widow, who had taken up her abode for some years in a nunnery in Dublin, mixing however

a good deal with her own family connexions, which were numerous. Her evidence on this occasion proved nothing but the extreme animosity against her nephew excited in her mind by religious and party zeal. She was called to prove that the note was antedated; her evidence is that she showed the note to some young man, who said that it appeared to be antedated. Mr. Reynolds' statement was that it bore the same date as the original note for 25*l.*, which he says was in June, 1793. Mr. Reynolds came of age in 1792. A note dated five years back, and drawn by a young man, might appear to a stranger to be dated in his minority, but that his mother's aunt, who had known him from his infancy, and whose attention had been pointedly drawn to the circumstance, could not speak to the fact, seems extraordinary.]

PETER SULLIVAN *sworn.*

You have got a protection?—I have.

You were a United Irishman, and have surrendered?—I have.

Do you know Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

Do you know anything of a transaction between him and Mrs. Cahill?—I do.

Did you see a note passed by him to her?—I did, for 20*l.*

What date did it bear?—*I saw two notes; the first was dated three or four years back; I am not sure.*

What sum was that for?—20*l.*; *the other was four or five years back; that was antedated.*

For what sum was it?—20l.

How did you come to know it was antedated?—I knew his handwriting.

By the Court.—Can you say one of them was for 20*l.*?—*I am confident each of them was for* 20*l.**

By the Court.—What was the date of the first?—I am not clear as to date; *I believe it was four years ago.*

By the Counsel.—Do you recollect the year the second note was dated in?—I do not; for I never expected to be asked about it.

How do you know it was antedated?—*The date of it was seven years back from the time I saw it.*†

That is antecedent to the time you saw it?—Yes.

When did you see it?—About December last.

From the general character which Mr. Reynolds bears in life, on your oath, do you consider him to be a man deserving credit upon his oath in a court of justice?—From my own knowledge of him, I would not believe him; *but I cannot speak from his general character.* From his character in his own family, I would not credit him.

* The reader will recollect that the evidence is that the first note was for 25*l.*, and that, upon the old woman requiring 5*l.* of the principal, the note was renewed for 20*l.*, and Mr. Reynolds is charged with having dated the renewed note so as to appear to have been given during his minority.

† He first said that this note was dated four or five years back, but, finding on recollection that four or five years back would not bring the date within Mr. Reynolds' minority, he now corrects himself and swears to seven years previous to December, 1797.

Cross-examined.

Where do you reside?—In Francis-street.

How long have you resided there?—A year.

Where did you reside before that?—In the house of Mr. Reynolds for seventeen years.*

Where?—In Dublin.

Then you have been an inhabitant of Dublin for many years past?—Except when I went to the country upon their business.

What business are you?—A silk-manufacturer.

What kind of United Irishman are you?—Am I bound to anwer that question?

When did you get the protection?—The tenth of this month.

When did you become a United Irishman?—About fifteen months ago.

There are two sorts of United Irishmen, one that do

* This Peter Sullivan was a person, who, with his widowed mother and a sister, was taken under the protection of Mr. Reynolds' father and mother at an early age. Sullivan received a good education at Mr. Reynolds' expense, and at a proper age was taken into the counting-house. He remained in the employ of his benefactors and their son for the space of seventeen years, and latterly was Mr. Reynolds' (the witness) confidential clerk and cashier, in which service he remained until Mr. Reynolds retired from business about twelve months previous to these trials, when he was himself established in business on his own account by Mr. Reynolds. He now appeared to do all the injury in his power to his benefactor, whose playmate he had been in childhood, and whose bread he had eaten all his life. Mr. Reynolds was not born until many years after Sullivan was taken under the protection of his father.

not choose to be hanged, the other who take their chance? *Did anybody advise Reynolds to become a United Irishman, and tell him whether it was safe or not?—He spoke to me, and asked me whether it was prudent to take the oath. I considered it so myself, and told him so.*

So that you were not only a United Irishman yourself, but an humble maker of United Irishmen, or promoter of the cause?—Am I bound to answer that? *I certainly recommended it to him.*

Were you not a promoter of the cause?—I might be one in that way.

Do you know the society that Reynolds first entered into?—I do not.

Perhaps you think Reynolds is on his trial. Do you know M'Can?—I have no intimacy with him.

I do not ask you whether you were his playfellow; but had you such an acquaintance with him as to ask him "Good morning, Mr. M'Can"?—I never asked him that question.

Or "Good evening"?—Never.

Did you ever see him?—Once I went of a message from Mr. Reynolds to Mr. M'Can, and I never saw him but that time.

Was it to deliver a letter or a verbal message?—A verbal message.

A verbal message to drink tea or to dine with him? Do you recollect the purport of it?—I recollect the purport of it to be——It does not criminate the prisoner, it only criminates myself.

Come, what was it?—He sent me to M'Can to know if he could get a pike sharpened; and M'Can did not acknowledge to have anything to do with it.

By virtue of your oath, did not M'Can then ask you for it?—No.

Did he turn you out?—He did not act in any remarkable manner.

So, then, he had never seen you before. What did you say to him?—I cannot recollect exactly; but I understood he would not do them; he was above work of that sort.

What did you say to him?—I said that Mr. Reynolds sent me to him to have pikes sharpened.

You asked him what he was?—I asked "Where was M'Can?" in Mr. Jackson's.

And when you saw him you asked him about the pikes?—Yes.

What did you say?—I asked him to have pikes sharpened, and he said he could not, or would not.

When the foreman would not do the business, did you ask the master of the shop?—I did not know him.

You knew him as well as the foreman?—I was directed to the office of M'Can.*

* This tale about the pikes, as far as it relates to Mr. Reynolds, is evidently a fabrication. If Sullivan ever had any communication with M'Can relative to the sharpening of pikes, which is very problematical, Mr. Reynolds had certainly nothing to do with it. It was not likely that Mr. Reynolds would send so dangerous a communication by a messenger who was utterly unacquainted with, and unknown to, M'Can, as well as to M'Can's employers. The questions of counsel, which brought out the story, arose out of the reply to his first question, "Do you know M'Can?"

If Thomas Reynolds would swear that M'Can was a United Irishman, would you believe it?—Unless I had other reasons to believe it; I know so many objections to his veracity and honesty.

He took the oath of a United Irishman?—He did, I believe.

And betrayed the cause?—He did.

Would not that give you a bad opinion of him?—It would, if I did not entertain a bad opinion of him before.

If Reynolds swore M'Can was a United Irishman, would you believe it?—Not from that alone.

I do not ask you; you have said that already. I do not wish to bring you and M'Can together. Would you believe the evidence?—I cannot say: that might depend upon other circumstances.

Then do you believe he was a United Irishman?—I believed it when I heard he was taken up, and I believed it before, because I was sent to him about the pikes.

Then, if you believe he was a United Irishman, you would not disbelieve it because Reynolds swore it?—I would not if I believed it before.

By the Court.—Had you the same opinion of Reynolds before you brought the message as you have now?—No, I had not.

When did you bring the message?—About a year ago.

That question took the witness by surprise, and his unguarded answer induced the counsel to follow it up.

[So that the bad opinion of Mr. Reynolds formed by Mr. Sullivan did not arise from any circumstance that came to his knowledge during the seventeen years he lived under Mr. Reynolds' roof, but from something which operated upon his mind during the last twelve-month. Whether that something was, that Mr. Reynolds "had betrayed the cause," to which Mr. Sullivan appears to have introduced him, was left to the sagacity of the jury.

Sullivan was called to prove that the note for 20*l.* was antedated: he swore that it was dated four or five years back. Upon reflection he found that five years would not bring it within the minority, so he amended his evidence, and swore to seven years and a half. He also swore positively that both the original note and the renewed note were for 20*l.*; the evidence being, that the first note was given for 25*l.*, and that, upon 5*l.* being taken up, the note was renewed for the balance.

Mr. Sullivan's evidence so fully established his own character, that Mr. Curran did not venture to call him again on either of the subsequent trials: and here the evidence closed on the part of the prisoner—the whole of it consisting of the four witnesses, Eleanor Dwyer, Thomas Warren, Mrs. Molloy, and Peter Sullivan.

Had Mr. Reynolds been guilty of any dishonourable or disreputable conduct whatever during the whole course of his life, no men in existence were so capable of exposing him as these two, Warren and Sullivan, both brought up by his father, from charitable motives, both intimately acquainted with Mr. Reynolds from the

hour of his birth; the first a near relation, and his partner in trade; the second his confidential clerk, his cashier, and humble bosom friend. Yet one of these men could impute nothing to him but the taking a piece of damaged lutestring from the partnership warehouse; and the other, who, from his situation in the house, must have been well acquainted with that particular transaction, positively declared that he had not formed his bad opinion of Mr. Reynolds from anything that came to his knowledge during the seventeen years he was in his and his father's employ, and living under the same roof with him, but from circumstances coming to his knowledge within the last twelvemonth.]

(Mr. Cope was again called on the part of the Crown.)

You know Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

Many years?—Yes.

From what you know of his general character, do you think him a man to be believed on his oath?—Upon my oath I believe he is.

Cross-examined.

Do you think a man engaging in a society of this nature has injured his credit?—There are many erroneous things a man will do; but still, after a man has been reinstated with his God and his country, I think he is to be believed.

Do you think this witness to be reinstated with his God?—I cannot say for that; but, from the condition I

see him in, I should hope he will receive mercy from God, as all repenting sinners will.

Do you found your opinion upon his conduct as a traitor?—Upon my word I formed my opinion upon the transactions respecting myself.

Why did you not mention that upon your direct examination?—Because I was not asked.*

You have heard a charge to-day about a bond. Do you believe that charge to be false?—*I do believe every word respecting Reynolds being guilty of forgery is false.*

If he swore that he paid off that bond, would he swear true?—He would, because he paid it in a certain specie.

Are the notes paid?†—I understand he paid them as they became due.

As a mercantile man, do you not know that a bond is a better security than a note?—As a mercantile man, I do not; because a note is a negotiable security, and money may be had upon it. A bond is not so transferable.

* Here Mr. Curran had another opportunity of examining Mr. Cope respecting the dealings between Mr. Reynolds and him—but he did not venture to do so. Had Mr. Reynolds' account of these dealings been in any respect incorrect, Mr. Cope could have contradicted him. Not having been questioned on that point, the only inference is that Mr. Reynolds' account was true in every respect.

† Connecting these questions with what appears hereafter in the evidence of Mrs. Molloy upon Byrne's trial, it is evident that the counsel knew that one of the notes was not paid when it became due; but he did not venture to put the question to Mrs. Molloy, lest the conspiracy against Mr. Reynolds, which was afterwards exposed, should have been at once detected.

But it may come back with a protest?—These did not, because they were paid.

Is not a man guilty of perjury who breaks his oath of allegiance?—I think so.

And do you think a man guilty of perjury deserving of credit?—Certainly not.

(* William Furlong, Esq., sworn.)

Do you know Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

How long?—Seven years and upwards.

Have you had dealings with him?—I have, many.

What is your opinion with respect to his general character, as to his deserving credit upon his oath?—I have always had a good opinion of his general character.

Would you give credit to his oath in a court of justice?—I would give credit to his oath, notwithstanding what I have heard alleged to his prejudice.

Cross-examined.

Were you in court during the examination to-day?—No.

Then what you alluded to was what you have heard in common conversation?—Yes.

If you had heard that he had taken the oath of allegiance, and had afterwards taken a traitorous engage-

* This gentleman was one of the most eminent solicitors in Ireland: he continued the warm, and, as far as living in separate countries permitted it, the intimate, friend of Mr. Reynolds until his death—a friendship which has been perpetuated in the persons of their children, although the separation of country has hitherto prevented the establishment of any intimacy between them.

ment in violation of that oath, would you think him deserving of credit upon his oath here?—I think it is very possible that a man who has taken the oath of allegiance, and at a subsequent period has taken the oath of a United Irishman, may, seeing the misery and calamity in which his country has been involved by it, repent of it, and adhere to his oath of allegiance as more obligatory upon him, and may deserve credit, by bearing allegiance to his king and becoming faithful to his country.

Here the case closed on both sides.

Mr. Howell, in his edition of the "State Trials," vol. xxvii. p. 499, then says—"Mr. Curran spoke at considerable length to the evidence for the prisoner," but he does not give the speech; and Mr. Curran's son, who published his father's life, tells us, that the defence in this case was suppressed.

Mr. Saurin replied on behalf of the crown, and Mr. Baron Smith summed up as follows.

(I omit those parts of the summing up which have no relation to the evidence or character of Mr. Reynolds, referring the curious reader to "Howell's State Trials," vol. xxvii., for this and any other information he may want, warning him, however, that implicit reliance cannot be placed upon the correctness or good faith of that publication.)

"Gentlemen, the prisoner stands indicted for high treason, the greatest offence known to our law—an offence tending to the subversion of the government of the country, and indeed of all social order: *but, gen-*

tlemen, if the offence be of a higher degree than ordinary, certainly the proof ought not to be less than in other cases; and if there be any ground of distinction, the magnitude of the offence ought rather to call for stronger evidence." (Here the learned baron entered into a detail of the nature of the crime of treason, and of the overt acts laid in the indictment; he reminded the jury that "it was their sole province to determine upon the evidence." He then read the evidence from the notes, and afterwards proceeded thus.) "You will observe, gentlemen, that the prisoner's counsel argued that Mr. Reynolds did not specify any person from whom he received information of the object of the United Irishmen; but you will see from the evidence that he stated the object of all the meetings to be 'to overthrow the government and constitution of the country, to establish a republican form of government in its place, and to favour a landing of the French to forward these views.' Now it seems to me, so far as the witness deserves credit, that his evidence is as pointed and precise as it could be to ascertain his source of information. With regard to the object of all these meetings, he saw and he knew their object to be that which he stated, having heard it discussed at each and every meeting; so that saying he heard it at one particular meeting or at another, or from some particular person, would have weakened his evidence, *because he learned it by attending all the different meetings, there hearing the end and object of their institution, repeatedly mentioned by the body collectively.*"

(After some observations upon the meeting at Bond's, on the 12th of March, the learned baron proceeded).

"As to the frauds and other acts of profligacy with which the witness Reynolds has been charged, some of them he admitted, others he denied; and I must say that, if he even had committed those which he denied, it would not follow of necessity that he was undeserving of credit on his oath; though, certainly, if those charges which he denied had been proved against him, such circumstance ought to have weight with you in estimating the degree of credit which you would give to his evidence. Gentlemen, great stress has been laid upon the witness having first taken the oath of allegiance and then that of the United Irishmen, and having finally come forward here and given that testimony which you have heard. It was stated to be gross perjury; it was assimilated to the case of a man who had been sworn to give evidence in a court of justice, and been afterwards convicted of perjury; and it was said, and said truly, that such a man could never afterwards be received to give evidence; so the law undoubtedly is. But the present case is obviously distinguishable from the case put: Reynolds had taken the oath of allegiance it is true, nor can his violation of it by taking the United oath be justified in any respect; but, as to the second, that of a United Irishman, it is very different indeed from an oath taken in a court of justice. A man takes an oath there, calm and uninfluenced, apprized of its consequences, nor can he break it without a violation of the laws of God and man. In giving evidence, he does

nothing but what a good, honest, and conscientious man ought to do. But a man taking the oath of a United Irishman may act under seduction, or the influence of persons who have acquired an unwarrantable power over his mind; and he takes an oath 'which is more honoured in the breach than in the observance.' Suppose a man should take an oath that he would imbrue his hands in the blood of his sovereign, *or that he would assist in the destruction of thousands of his fellow-subjects;* could it be said he was bound by such an oath? or that, if he violated it, such violation would be at all similar to the violation of an oath taken by a witness in a court of justice?* There is no divine who would not tell any man who had taken such an oath as I have supposed, that it would be meritorious to violate it, and that such violation would be pleasing in the eye of God and man. *Neither ought the taking of an oath under the influence of seduction, or the terror of death, or other violent mischief,* to be considered as a deliberate violation of the oath of allegiance, or at all analogous

* Suppose a man, acting under the influence of an old friend of his father, and of his own long-tried and apparently-faithful friend and confidential servant, to join a society, and take an oath, not merely innocent but laudable in its declared object, and in no way opposed to the oath of allegiance, and afterwards to discover, by attending many different meetings and hearing discussions upon many subjects, that the real objects of the society were different from their declared purposes, and contrary to the apparent meaning of the oath he had taken; could it be said that he was bound by such an oath any longer than until he had ascertained beyond all doubt that he was not mistaken, and that what he heard discussed at the meetings was not mere idle bravado, but the serious and well-concerted design of the association?

to wilful or corrupt perjury, so as to render a witness altogether incredible; although it may be a circumstance very proper to be considered by a jury when they come to consider the degree of credit to be given the witness. It certainly does not render him incompetent, and the prisoner's counsel only argued it as going to his credit, though the effect of the argument would be just the same as if the witness had been held incompetent. The mischiefs of such a doctrine would be endless; because, if a man who had taken the oath of allegiance, and afterwards that of a United Irishman, were to be totally discredited for ever after, all lenity on the part of government would be utterly abortive; because, if such a man could only purchase redemption by everlasting infamy, it can scarcely be supposed that he would ever seek to avail himself of the royal mercy."

(After the learned judge had stated the whole of the evidence, and observed upon different passages of it incidentally, he said)—

"Here the case was rested on all hands, and I will now trouble you with only one or two observations more.

"Two species of evidence have been adduced on the part of the crown; one parole, the other written. Whether the former deserves credit, is for your judgment solely. If the testimony of the witness Reynolds shall in your opinion be worthy of belief, it goes the length of maintaining all, or nearly all, of the twelve overt acts laid in the indictment. There is scarcely any, if indeed one, of the twelve which it does not establish.

But it is sufficient if it establish any one; that, if proved to your satisfaction, will call for a verdict of conviction. The witness mentioned that the object of the meeting was to overturn the government and constitution; to establish a republic; and to aid the French when they came to forward these purposes.

"Thus, gentlemen, it is for you to consider whether that evidence of Reynolds deserves your credit or not. In estimating his credit, you will recollect the manner in which he gave his testimony; you will compare the parts of his testimony with each other, and you will compare the whole of it with the evidence of Mr. Cope."

(Here the learned judge made some observations upon the written evidence, with which it is not necessary to trouble the reader. He concluded his observations upon it by remarking that "These papers, appearing in the manner they do, were written in prosecution of the plans stated by Reynolds, if you give credit to his testimony;" thus making the effect of even the written evidence to depend upon that gentleman's veracity.)

"But, gentlemen, it is your sole province to judge of his credit; you are to take into consideration those circumstances which go to diminish his credit, and those which go to confirm and corroborate his testimony; and, upon considering the evidence upon one side and upon the other, *if you think Reynolds entitled to credit, you will be bound to find a verdict of conviction: but if you entertain a fair and conscientious doubt as to his credit,* and as to the sufficiency of the evidence in sup-

port of the indictment, *you ought certainly, in favour of life, to acquit the prisoner:* and here, gentlemen, I repeat that you have a very momentous duty to discharge; and I am happy that this duty rests upon men so very competent to its discharge."

[Let me here ask the reader to pause before he takes upon himself the office of the jury. Let him recollect that Mr. Reynolds is, as the attorney-general very properly observed, upon his trial; that he is charged with murder, forgery, fraud, perjury, and theft; that in support of these charges his conduct has been carefully sifted from his earliest years; that his private friends, his partner in trade, his nearest relatives, his domestic servants, and his confidential and bosom dependants, have been carefully and cautiously examined; and all that private pique, personal animosity, religious or party spirit, could recollect or invent to his prejudice, has been produced. To what, after all this, does the proof amount? To nothing but to that which he himself acknowledged to be true, the disposal of some trifling articles of his own property, at the early age of sixteen, under a mistaken idea that he had a right then so to dispose of them; every other charge fell to the ground; the most horrible of all was not even attempted to be sustained, although the prisoner's friends subpœnaed, and had in court, the medical attendant of Mrs. Witherington, probably to prevent him from being called on the part of the crown. The charge of forgery and that of fraud, like all the other charges, were distinctly negatived by Mr. Reynolds; and such of the

witnesses as were called in support of them contradicted themselves in so glaring a manner as to convince every one present that they must have been themselves guilty of perjury. And the charge of perjury, upon which we can collect, from the language of the learned judge, that the counsel for the prisoner ultimately relied —every other topic of crimination having failed him— rested solely upon the supposed contradictory spirit of the obligations of the oath of allegiance and the United oath. The learned judge having said so much upon that point, and the United oath being given in a note, I will add nothing here on that subject. Taking all these points into consideration, I ask my reader to lay his hand upon his heart, and, before he reads the verdict of the jury, to find such a verdict upon the guilt or innocence of Mr. Reynolds, as his own conscience may dictate to him.]

Mr. Howell tells us that the jury retired *for five minutes*, and brought in a verdict of guilty. And the prisoner, being called upon in the usual form, said,

" My lords, I have nothing to say but that some parts of the evidence held out against me this day are not true; particularly the evidence of Harris, whom I never saw in a committee, as I meet that great Judge who is to judge me."

It is worthy of remark that no charge of interested motives appears to have been made against Mr. Reynolds on his trial. He stated, in his examination-in-chief, that he had received five hundred guineas through Mr. Cope. He was not cross-examined upon it, and, as

the learned judge took no notice of it in his summing up, we may safely conclude that Mr. Curran did not, on this occasion, think it of sufficient consequence to comment on it. Indeed Mr. Reynolds's private fortune and position in society, both of which were well known to the judges, the jury, and the counsel, rendered the supposition that he could be influenced by a bribe of five hundred guineas utterly preposterous. Mr. Curran, however, when driven to his last shifts in defence of Bond, endeavoured to make some use of it, with what effect we shall see when I come to consider the evidence given in that case.

CHAPTER IX.

Remarks upon the trial of William Michael Byrne.

1798.

On Friday, July 20th, 1798, William Michael Byrne was brought to the bar; and the following jury were sworn :—

Joseph Ashley,	William Long,
William Pike,	George Walker,
Charles Bingham,	Joshua Manders,
George Darley, junr,	Benjamin Simpson,
Mountford Hay,	William Wainright,
John Crossthwaite,	Frederick Barker.

The judges who tried the case were Mr. Justice Crookshank, Mr. Baron George, and Mr. Justice Day.

Mr. Howell, in his edition of the State Trials, says, that Mr. Ridgeway's report of this trial, which in other respects he professes to follow, omits the speeches of the counsel altogether, and that the accounts of those speeches given by him are taken from another report of the trial, printed and published at the time. According to Mr. Ridgeway (who was of counsel for the the crown in all the cases) the case on behalf of the prosecution was, on the present occasion, stated by the pryme serjeant; but Mr. Howell says, on the authority of the anonymous report, that Mr. Attorney-general

addressed the court and jury. Mr. Howell then gives an outline of the attorney-general's speech, in which no allusion whatever is made to Mr. Reynolds. That gentleman was entirely unacquainted with Byrne. He was called on this occasion to prove the general designs of the leaders of the society of United Irishmen, and the facts which he had already proved against M'Can. The prisoner was connected with those designs, and with M'Can and the other leaders by other testimony; still, as there existed no evidence of the treasonable designs of the leaders, but what Mr. Reynolds could give, it became necessary to get rid of his evidence by contradicting him, or to induce the jury to disbelieve him, by attempting to take away his character. The latter was the course adopted. In this case as in the last, the only witnesses called for the defence were persons to the character and conduct of Mr. Reynolds, and one or two persons called to the character of the prisoner. Mr. Reynolds was thus again put upon his trial; the acquittal of a former jury was not, in his case, sufficient to release him from the charges brought against him. Those charges were again urged with increased vehemence, and attempted to be supported by two of the witnesses who appeared on M'Can's trial and one new witness. Had Mr. Reynolds been nominally, as well as really, upon his trial, his acquittal in the first case would have been an answer to all subsequent proceedings. As it was, that gentleman's character and conduct were submitted to three successive juries of his countrymen:—the first of these juries, as we have seen,

acquitted him without hesitation; a verdict in which I am sure every impartial reader of the foregoing pages must have sincerely joined. I will now proceed, as in the former case, to show by what unworthy means the charges against him were attempted to be supported on his second trial.

The first witnesses called were William Bellingham Swann, Esq., justice of the peace, who proved the arrest of the prisoner, in company with M'Can and others, at the house of Oliver Bond on the 12th March, and the finding of certain papers: Christopher Stone Williams, Esq., who proved the hand-writing of the prisoner to some of those papers; and Arthur Guinness, Esq., who proved the hand-writing of M'Can to others of those papers.

The papers were then read, and the Crown called

THOMAS REYNOLDS, ESQ.

He detailed shortly the nature, formation, and plans of the Society as in M'Can's case, and he gave the following account of his own reasons for giving that information to Mr. Cope which enabled the government to arrest the persons who attended the meeting at Bond's house on the 12th March.

"Mr. Cope and I went down to Sir Duke Giffard's to get possession of some land which I had mortgaged to Mr. Cope for 5000*l*. There was some company there and great talk of politics. As we were in the carriage upon our return, Mr. Cope introduced the subject of politics; represented the horrors of civil war and revolution; the murders and robberies which

would ensue; the destruction of religion and of property; and the ruin which would be brought upon the whole country, if this business were left to go on. We travelled the whole day together, and there was a vast deal of conversation; the result of which was, that I thought if I let the business go on, I should be guilty of the greatest crime before God and man; and I determined to give up the United Irishmen to save the country from ruin. But I took time, and told Mr. Cope I knew a person who would give information, and that I would call upon him in a few days. Mr. Cope immediately stated that such a man deserved everything—that great rewards would be paid to him. I said if he came forward no rewards would be sought, but he would come forward to satisfy his own mind. A good deal of conversation ensued. I went in a day or two and told him, I had seen my friend, who was ready to give information upon certain terms. He, thinking it was reward, said he should have 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* a-year, and a seat in parliament, and be raised to the highest honours in the state. I told him he mistook me; I told him the terms: that the channel should not be disclosed—that he should not be prosecuted for any act as a United Irishman*—or be obliged to prosecute any individual for being a United Irishman: and, lastly, lest he should be murdered for giving the information, if he were suspected,

* Mr. Reynolds was compelled to make himself known to Government, and claim the benefit of this condition, by informations lodged against him as a United Irishman by five of his own captains, in obedience to the orders of the provincial committee.

he and his family would be obliged to withdraw, and that therefore his extraordinary expenses upon that occasion should be defrayed. He asked what sum, saying that any sum would be paid. I said 500 guineas, observing that he must be out of the way for a year, and that his house would be damaged.* He again pressed great rewards, and seemed surprised that none would

* Mr. Reynolds retired into the country, after the arrests at Bond's house, intending to leave Ireland with his family until the restoration of tranquillity, but his departure was delayed by Mrs. Reynolds' confinement, which took place on the 15th of April. In the mean time the suspicions of Government were directed towards him. A troop of dragoons, and a company of infantry were sent to live at free quarters upon his estate: the troops remained at Kilkea ten days, and the sum of 630*l.*, mentioned by Mr. Reynolds, was his land-steward's account for corn, hay, straw, cattle, and sheep furnished to the troops during that visit. When the troops left him, he was again about to depart, when he was arrested by order of Colonel Campbell, on informations sworn against him by five of his captains, and directed to be tried by court-martial, and, if convicted, executed. It was then that he made himself known to Government, and claimed the benefit of the second condition. But for this circumstance he would in all probability have ever remained unknown to government; and the prisoners who were now tried, and their confederates then in custody, must all have been discharged, after a short confinement, for want of evidence to convict them, or, if brought to trial, must have been acquitted, as was the case with Arthur O'Connor at Maidstone. The following letter from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Reynolds, written many years after these events, corroborates the latter part of the above statement.

'Sir, "Downing Street, 1st August, 1808.

"I have been favoured with your letter, and regret to find that any report which can be painful to your feelings should have been circulated in that part of the country where you have established yourself with your family. The strong sense I shall always entertain of your very honourable, important, and I must add, disinterested services, cannot fail to make me solicitous in every circumstance in which the credit and comfort of your family are concerned. The situation I held in Ireland during

be accepted of. He agreed to the terms, and I then gave him such information as I could. I gave it as from a third person. I must now mention that I have actually sustained losses to the amount of 630*l.* by quartering of troops, and disturbances in the country."

He was then cross-examined as follows by Mr. Bushe :—

You have taken the oath of allegiance in the course of your life?—I have.

And the oath of a United Irishman?—I have.

Is it not part of the oath that you are never to give information against a brother?—It is: not to give information of any thing done in the society, or out of it.

Do you recollect having taken any other oath since you gave information to government?—I took an oath to my captains, and received an oath from them. I swore to them, and they swore to me.

the rebellion best enabled me to judge of the motives which influenced your conduct, and I shall always feel it an act of mere justice to you to state, *that your protecting assistance was afforded to the state long before you were known to any member of the government;* that it was afforded in the most useful manner, when the prevention of calamity could be your only motive for making the important communications received from you; *that they were made without a suggestion of personal advantage to yourself;* and that my belief is, *had it not been for accidental circumstances not necessary now to refer to, that his majesty's government in that country might have remained to this day in ignorance of every thing relating to you,* but of the truly important services you were enabled to render to your country.

"I am, Sir,

"with much truth,

"your obedient and faithful servant

"CASTLEREAGH."

Did you ever take any other oath since you gave information to government?—No; no other oath, except the oath upon my examination when I was giving information; and the oath I swore here the other day.

Do you recollect taking an oath in the town of Naas since you gave information?—No.

Did you ever take up a prayer-book and take a voluntary oath, that you had not given up the United Irishmen?—I do not recollect any such thing.

Possibly, we may find people to refresh your recollection!—Very likely.

Try and recollect.—No, sir; I was at Naas a day or two before I was arrested, and Mr. Taylor told me I was to be assassinated. I was in the midst of United Irishmen—there was a county delegate in the house with me—there was a Mr. Flood there, and I assured him that I had not—but I did not take an oath. If I did not do as I did, I would have been murdered before I got home.

If I intended to produce Mr. Flood would you take off the edge of his testimony by saying he was a delegate? *—I do not desire to take off the edge of any man's testimony. I state the fact.

Do you know Mr. M'Donnell; I do; he is the innkeeper there; I would have given every assurance, and 15 more oaths if they required, rather than be murdered.

Then you took an oath before them?—I do not re-

*This was an attempt to obtain the benefit of Mr. Flood's testimony without calling him.

collect that I did. I do not deny but I might have done so; but I have no recollection of it. I hope the oath I took here the other day, and the one I have taken this day, will absolve me from all the illegal oaths I may have taken.

You have been delegated by the county of Kildare? —Yes.

Then your actual knowledge is confined to that county?—By no means.

You have expressed the intentions of these societies. The members take an obligation?—They do.

That does not express such an intention as subverting the constitution?—No.

What is it?—I have it not by heart.*

Mention the substance.—They swear to be true to each other and not to discover; they swear to procure a reconciliation of all religious persuasions, the emancipation of the Catholics, and reform of the representation of the people of Ireland in Parliament.

Do you conceive these to be criminal?—No, by no means; I do not: but I must mention one thing; if the full intentions of the United Irishmen were put into their oath, *it would have deterred many from joining them, who were led on, having entered into them, to join in their other views.*†

* See the oath in a note to page 394 in M'Can's trial, *supra*, and the declaration, resolutions, and constitution of the Societies of United Irishmen, in the Appendix, No. 11.

† Mr. Reynolds and his father had been successively members of all the Roman Catholic committees, which, from the beginning of the reign of George III. down to 1794, had been engaged in seeking and procur-

Then their full schemes were not expressed in their oath?—Decidedly not.

And you have assigned the reason for their then falsifying their real motives, and putting forward, ostensibly, proper motives?—I say, that is my own opinion.

A scheme so well concerted must have had some success?—Too great success.

Do you not believe that many were deceived, by thinking that their views did not extend farther than the ostensible motives expressed upon that paper?—I do; hundreds upon hundreds.

You said you could not well recollect the words of the obligation: that was, because you repeated them but once?—I do not recollect to have taken it more than once.

But you administered it?—I did.

ing relief from the penal statutes affecting Roman Catholics in Ireland. All his family connexions were Roman Catholics. It is not therefore surprising that, acting under the advice of an old and apparently attached and trust-worthy dependent, (Peter Sullivan,) he should have joined a society professing no other objects than those which he, and many of the first and most loyal men in Ireland, had been seeking to obtain for a quarter of a century. A man can hardly be held answerable, *in foro conscientiæ*, for the secret designs of men who openly profess none but honest, just, and constitutional objects. The fact that Mr. Reynolds did not sanction the unconstitutional and traitorous designs, into which, in common with hundreds upon hundreds, he had been entrapped, is clear, from the circumstance that he took the earliest opportunity of withdrawing from them, as soon as accidental circumstances placed him in such a position in the societies as to assure him that the designs of the leaders were really traitorous and revolutionary; which could not be until he was made a member of the provincial.

Then you repeated it?—No; the person taking it read it.

In what manner?—We had a little book called the Constitution; we opened the part where the oath was, the man read it, and we swore him.*

You have done that often?—I have.

When did you last?—I cannot say.

Have you administered that oath, or made a United Irishman, since your communication with Mr. Cope?—Never.

Try your recollection.—It is tried. Sir, I have done no such thing.

You have got 500 guineas?†—I have got 500 guineas from government.

And you most liberally refused to take anything else?—I have.

Do you expect anything else?—I do not.‡

* A copy of this Constitution was found upon O'Quigley, who was tried at Maidstone with Arthur O'Connor and others; it was read on his trial, and is published in the twenty-sixth volume of Howell's State Trials. A copy of it will also be found in the Appendix, no. 11.

† This circumstance, which was not thought of sufficient consequence to merit even a passing observation from counsel on M'Can's trial, is to be slightly urged on this occasion to try its effect preparatory to the trial of Oliver Bond.

‡ At this period the ascertained damage sustained by this gentleman by the free quartering only amounted to 630*l*. His house at Kilkea, which was the ancient baronial castle of the Duke of Leinster, and which is now (1838) said to be refitting as the future residence of the duke's eldest son, the Marquis of Kildare, had been recently repaired and furnished in the first style. It was subsequently occupied by the military for many months as a stronghold. On their departure the remains of the furniture, fixtures, &c., were sold by auction, and produced no more

And you would refuse it if offered?—I do not know what I may do hereafter; I only speak as to what I have done.

You cannot say what you would do?—I cannot say what I would do to-morrow.

If they were at this moment to offer you a reward?—I would not take it.

If they offered you a reward to-morrow would you take it?—If you ask me that question to-morrow I will answer you.

What is your opinion this day as to some of the charges made against you in the early part of your life, of pilfering from ladies in your family?—Ask me the particular question, and I will answer you.

Were they malicious charges?—My opinion is that they were brought here to injure my evidence, not having anything worse to say against me; and I hope they have not injured my evidence.

Were these charges true or false?—You mean respecting the trinkets and piece of silk?

Yes.—They were both true.

By the Court.—Mention them to the jury.—I was asked, on the last day, whether I did not steal trinkets from my mother, and a piece of silk, my mother being

than 27*l.* So complete was the destruction of this gentleman's property that his total loss at Kilkea exceeded 12,600*l.* This sum was ascertained by sworn appraisers and certified by the magistrates of the county in the manner directed by the Act of Parliament granting indemnity to persons having suffered from free quartering during the Rebellion, but it has not been repaid to his family to this day.

in the silk-business, and I said that I did, and gave them to my girl.*

By the Counsel.—What age were you then?—Sixteen.

Do you recollect having administered a dose of medicine to a lady not very successfully?—My examination on the last day calls to my recollection the person you mean—my wife's mother.

What did you prescribe for her?—Tartar emetic, which I took very often myself with good effect.

Did it agree with her?—As well as medicine could, I suppose; she died on the Sunday following.†

You are sure that you gave the medicine on Friday, and that she died on Sunday?—I am perfectly clear.

Though any person should swear that she died in ten hours after?—I could not believe it.‡

You never did such an act of kindness to your own mother?—No.

What did she die of?—I do not know; I was not at home.

* Mr. Reynolds never made such an answer. He gave an account of the transaction as related at page 414, and his *faithful* reporter puts this coarse reply into his mouth. (Note of the Editor.)

† See Mr. Cope's evidence as to the cause of this lady's death, *infra*, in Oliver Bond's case. Mr. G. Fitzgerald, who attended Mrs. Witherington in her last illness, and directed this medicine to be administered to her, was in attendance, but the counsel for the prisoner would not call him.

‡ These questions were put in reference to a person then in attendance to give evidence, but whose evidence the counsel for the prisoner ultimately determined to reserve for the defence of Oliver Bond. Why were this prisoner and M'Can deprived of the advantage of any evidence that was thought valuable for Oliver Bond's defence?

Do you recollect going into your mother's room, and, seeing a person taking away a bottle of wine, you ran with eagerness and said "you would take it yourself, as you had sent it"?—No, never.

Will you recollect it to-morrow?—Never, because it never happened.*

Were you not accused with having given poison to your mother-in-law?—I never heard it said to me, but I was told that Major Witherington said I poisoned his mother by a dose of tartar emetic—a most violent poison!

You know Mrs. Cahill?—I do.

You have been indebted to her?—Yes.

You executed securities to her?—Yes, a bond for 50*l.* and a note for 25*l.*

You got up the bond before it was paid?—I did.

How did that happen?—Mrs. Cahill gave me the bond to compare the dates of the interest account. There lay in my desk, which was always open,† a

* The celebrated Dr. M'Nevin, who was then in Newgate, attended Mrs. Reynolds during her last illness, was with her when she died, and witnessed her will, which was prepared by her sons-in-law Messrs. Weir and Prendergast, one of which gentlemen held the dying lady's hand while she signed it. This done, the three gentlemen sent for Mr. Reynolds, who on his arrival found his mother dead. Why was not Dr. M'Nevin called to state the cause of this lady's death? To what a deplorable extremity these learned gentlemen must have felt themselves reduced in defence of their clients, when they were driven to have recourse to such unjustifiable, because unfounded and unsupported, imputations as these!

† A copy-bond. The country shopkeepers who procured their stock at this gentleman's manufactory were in the habit of receiving very

double bond and warrant, which had been erroneously filled up in part, and was afterwards corrected and left in the office for the clerks to follow. In giving Mrs. Cahill her bond I gave her this bond by mistake; and I always paid her the interest as it became due, and when she demanded the principal I paid her.

Was not the bond what was called a Kerry bond?—It was not.

You are positive of that?—I am.

Judgment was entered upon it?—No.

This lady happened to be blind?—No, not at that time.

She had a confidence in you?—Implicit.

When did she apply to you to rectify that mistake?—She did not apply to me.

Application was made to you?—Application was made, and it was rectified.

Did you do that before you were threatened by an attorney to be prosecuted?—I received a letter from an attorney, and it was the most unprovoked letter I ever received. I had been in town upon business of the Folies, and called at Mrs. Cahill's. I could not see her, and I left directions with Mr. Sullivan* about it.

long credits and executing bonds with warrants to confess judgment as security for their debts. The "double bond" of which the witness speaks was a security of this sort, which, having been spoiled, was afterwards corrected, and left in the counting-house to serve as a precedent.

* His late cashier. If the reader will compare this part of Mr. Reynolds' cross-examination with what he said on the same subject in M'Can's case, he will find that Mr. Bushe in vain endeavoured to entrap him into a contradiction.

I went to the country, where I received a letter from an attorney. I answered it, and the matter was settled.

How long a time elapsed between the mistake and the rectifying it?—A long time.

Then you knew of it, and did not rectify it?—I did not know of it until I was regulating my papers at Kilkea.

But still you did not rectify it until you were written to?—It was of no consequence, as I paid her the interest.

Did you not see her afterwards, and before you were written to?*—No: she applied to Mrs. Reynolds to come down to Kilkea to settle for life. I would not consent to it until she had settled her affairs with her friends in town; but I did not see her. When I did call upon her in town about the principal, I called upon her in Smithfield, and she desired me to settle it with Mrs. Molloy. I did so: I gave her new securities for part of the money, and paid her the other part as she wanted it.

Then, if the old bond was given up, which had been kept as a copy, why not put the real bond into the desk?—It was so.

Then you discovered the mistake at Kilkea?—I did.

Though the bond remained in the desk in Dublin?†—Yes: for I brought the papers to the country. There

* This question and the first part of the answer are new.

† With what a triumphant tone Mr. Bushe seems to put this question, when he thinks he has at last caught the witness in so trifling a self-contradiction as this would have been!

was a great quantity of them, a large chest of the papers of the house of Warren and Reynolds, and I had more leisure in the country, where I sorted them.

Did you keep the bond still for a pattern?—No, because I quitted business.*

You have passed notes to Mrs. Cahill?—I have.

Did you date one of them so as to go into your minority?—No: I passed her a note for 25*l.*; she got 5*l.* afterwards, and took a fresh note for 20*l.*, which bore date the same day as the first.

Were you a minor at the time you got the money?—No.

Did you not date the second note further back?—No.

What has become of that note?—I know that note and the bond are both destroyed.

When?—Fifteen or sixteen days ago, when Mrs. Cahill forced them upon Mrs. Reynolds, saying they were my property, and that I had paid her fairly and honourably, and I put them into the fire the moment I got them.

You were in confinement at that time?—I was.

How long is it since you paid her, and made this settlement through your wife?†—I made no settlement through my wife.

When was it you paid her?—I said that Mrs. Reynolds was with her sixteen or seventeen days ago. She

* Had Mr. Reynolds continued in business the mistake would have been sooner discovered.

† A catching question cleverly put. Had the witness been speaking falsely he could hardly have parried it.

found her ill, from Mrs. Bond's having been with her, and threatening to put her into gaol if she did not prosecute Mr. Reynolds, who had always behaved fairly and honourably to her; and that Mrs. Bond offered her money for them, but she would not give them up to any other but myself.

But when did you make the payment that entitled you to get these papers, and yet you did not take them up?—Because I made the settlement with Mrs. Molloy, and Mrs. Cahill was not present. I gave her two notes for 10*l.* each, payable at an interval of two months, and I gave the difference in cash. The first note became due in May.*

You said your wife had an interview with Mrs. Cahill?—She had.

Do you believe that meeting was accidental?—By virtue of my oath, I declare, upon my belief, that my wife did not go for that purpose, nor had she an idea of getting the papers at the time; but Mrs. Cahill gave them to her, as I mentioned, and she gave them to me, and I threw them into the fire, when I heard that Mrs. Bond had been looking for them.

Had you at that time heard that these papers were to be made use of to discredit your testimony?—All I heard was, that Mrs. Bond had been looking for these papers, and had offered a sum of money for them: Mrs. Cahill said that they belonged to me, who had acted fairly and honourably by her. The papers were

* The witness here answers the latter part of Mr. Bushe's question first.

handed to me: I said they were of no use to anybody, and I flung them into the fire.

Do you think these papers could have done you any injury if they had not been burned?—No; nor all the papers I have or ever had in the world.

Then why did you burn them?—Because they were useless and were discharged.

If your character were attacked by cross-examination, would not these papers have been of use to you?*—By virtue of my oath, if I thought the matter would have been inquired into here, I would not have destroyed them; I would not wish for 100*l.* that they had been destroyed.

Then you burned them by mistake?—No: I did it on purpose.

Merely because they were useless?—No: partly because Mrs. Bond was endeavouring to get them.

Why keep them from Mrs. Bond?—Because she was endeavouring to circulate calumnies against me.

Then you were afraid they might injure you?—No, they could not injure me if produced, though much slander has been grounded upon them. I burned them more through want of thought than anything else.

* The bond if produced could have proved nothing but what Mr. Reynolds had admitted, namely, that it was not Mrs. Cahill's bond, but a spoiled and useless copy of a bond and warrant of attorney. The note might have proved that it was not dated during this gentleman's minority—a fact which Mr. Reynolds had twice denied, and which Mr. Curran attempted to prove by the evidence of Sullivan in the last case and failed, but which no attempt to prove is made in this case.

Where did the lady die who died of tartar emetic?—I knew no such lady.

But where did Mrs. Witherington die?—In Ashe-street, in a house she rented from me.

She had received about 300*l.* about three weeks before her death?—She had.

She was very extravagant, and spent 300*l.* every fortnight?—No, by no means.

The money was not found?—I believe not; *she had her husband and her son living with her; I did not live with them.*

Were you ever a locksmith?—I never practised that trade.

Did you ever take the impression of a key in wax to have one made by it?—No.

Do you know what a skeleton key is?—I do.

Have you ever had one made?—Two or three.

Did you ever get one that would open your mother's desk?—No.

Make a round guess, and say how many oaths you have taken within the last six months?—I believe seven or eight.

Were they exactly consistent with each other?—Indeed, Sir, they were not. But I hope that this oath which I have taken to-day, and the one which I took the other day, will completely absolve me in the sight of God and man from my offence in taking the United oaths.

[The above was the whole of Mr. Reynolds' evidence and cross-examination. It will be seen that all the charges made against him in M'Can's case, *except the*

*charge of attempting to defraud Mr. Cope,** were renewed on the present occasion. Elizabeth Cahill and Dr. Fitzgerald were both subpœnaed and in attendance. It will be observed that Mr. Bushe has laid the grounds for contradicting Mr. Reynolds in every particular of the several charges, if he is able to do so. He may call Mr. Flood, and Mr. M'Donnel to prove that Mr. Reynolds took an oath at Naas,—Dr. Fitzgerald to prove that Mrs. Witherington died of a dose of tartar emetic administered by Mr. Reynolds—and her husband, her son, and her own servants, to prove that she died within ten hours after taking it,—Dr. M'Nevin to prove the cause of the death of the late Mrs. Reynolds, his mother, and the story of the bottle of wine,—Elizabeth Cahill to prove that Mr. Reynolds had endeavoured to defraud her by a forged bond, and a note antedated into his minority. I admit that after hearing the evidence those persons gave on M'Can's trial, he could not have ventured to call Thomas Warren and Peter Sullivan again. The prudence of again calling Eleanor Dwyer is also more than doubtful, but counsel, in

* It was again brought forward in Oliver Bond's case. The loose and careless manner in which the counsel for the prisoners in these trials urged the several grounds of crimination against Mr. Reynolds is very remarkable. Mr. Bushe's cross-examination, just concluded, is more like the repetition *pro formâ* of something that was already before the court, than the cross-examination of a witness appearing before the jury for the first time. The manner in which the different charges are made or omitted, without any apparent reason, and the forgetfulness of the particular charges made in each case, exhibited by the counsel for the prisoners in their speeches to the juries, show the little reliance those learned gentlemen themselves placed in those charges.

common decency, must call somebody. Mrs. Bond might also be called with the additional advantage of thereby obtaining her evidence indirectly for her husband. Elizabeth Cahill and the two last witnesses seem particularly necessary, as it is evident from the cross-examination that the counsel for the prisoner intend to rest their case upon the transactions between Mr. Reynolds and Elizabeth Cahill.]

Two witnesses were called to prove Mr. Byrne's connexion with the Society of United Irishmen, whose treasonable purposes had been proved by Mr. Reynolds; and then

WILLIAM COPE, ESQ., *was sworn and examined.*

You know Thomas Reynolds?—Very well.

You went to Castle Jordan?—I did.

About business?—Yes.

You passed the day there?—Part of the day.

The conversation turned upon politics?—We talked upon politics and the troubles that were likely to arise. They said there must be conciliation, and there must be a reform in parliament and emancipation.

This led you to talk freely upon politics?—It did.

Who were of the company?—Sir Duke Giffard, Lord Wycombe, Captain Fitzgerald, another Fitzgerald, and two others whose names I do not recollect.

The subject rested upon your mind?—Very much.

It was a serious conversation?—It was. They talked very freely of the troubles, and their increase; that the people were not satisfied, and could not be satisfied.

You returned with Mr. Reynolds?—I did.

Mention shortly the import of the conversation you had with him.—I will. I said, that was an extraordinary sort of conversation we had last night; it is very alarming, and will tend to revolution: talking in that way will breed a revolution, and the consequences would be dreadful; for if the French should come, their object is plunder; no person, property, or life would be safe; the people, even the very gentlemen who were talking last night would all suffer, and your property and mine be equally plundered.

What was the consequence? Did Mr. Reynolds open himself?—He did.

Did he give you information?—He did: I pressed him to give it, for I found he could. He said, he never could, and would not. But before he left me, he told me that what I mentioned pressed upon his mind. He called in a couple of days, and said there was a person who could give information. He then declared the meeting at Bond's.

Did he tell you the kind of meeting it was?—A provincial meeting.

Did he tell you upon what day?—He did.

And the place?—At Oliver Bond's.

Has he been uniform, consistent, and correct in every account of the transaction?—Extremely correct, and everything he ever told me came out as he represented.

Not cross-examined.

[To every person conversant with the proceedings of

courts of justice it must be evident from the preceding very short and general examination of Mr. Cope, that some intimation must have been given to the attorney-general that Mr. Curran and his learned friends did not intend seriously to question the truth of Mr. Reynolds' statement of the nature and immediate cause of his communications with Mr. Cope, nor the truth of his account of the terms he made with that gentleman. It cannot be supposed that the attorney-general would have suffered Mr. Cope's testimony to be given in so loose and general a way but in consequence of some such understanding. The circumstance that Mr. Cope was not cross-examined on this occasion corroborates this surmise. If Mr. Curran gave full credence to Mr. Reynolds' evidence in these particulars, and also believed that the charge of an attempt to defraud Mr. Cope of 1000*l.* was unfounded, the course which he now adopted was a fair and proper one, and we shall in future hear no more of these charges. But if Mr. Curran thought otherwise, if Mr. Curran believed Mr. Reynolds to have given a false account of his negotiations with Mr. Cope, if he thought that some secret article for Mr. Reynolds' personal advantage was kept back, or that Mr. Reynolds had been guilty of some inconsistency in his account, or had been in any way employed as a spy through the medium of Mr. Cope: still more, if he believed that Mr. Reynolds had endeavoured to defraud Mr. Cope in the course of their private dealings, what right had he to compromise the safety of his client by forbearing to cross-examine

Mr. Cope as to important facts like these, which no man was competent to prove but Mr. Cope? The necessary conclusion from Mr. Curran's conduct is, that he felt he had no "locus standi" on these points.]

Some more papers found at Oliver Bond's were now read, after some unavailing objections by Mr. Bushe. Among these papers was a list of toasts to be drunk at the dinners which followed the meetings of the leaders of the United Irishmen: among them were the following:—

Erin-go-bragh.

The French Republic.

May the guillotine clip the wings of tyranny.

The United Irishmen—success to their efforts.

Mother Erin dressed in green ribbons by a French milliner, if she can't be dressed without her.

Ireland a republic and the world free.

The reading of these papers closed the case on behalf of the Crown, and Mr. Curran rose for the defence. He began:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury—In this case I am counsel for the unfortunate prisoner at the bar; and it is now my duty to argue upon some points that appear to me to be material for the jury to consider previous to their finding their verdict." (He then at some length explained and commented upon the law of treason as contained in the 25th of Edward III.; he particularly pointed out the distinction between the law in England and in Ireland in cases of treason. He told the jury that in England the law required two

witnesses to prove an overt act, while in Ireland the law was satisfied with the oath of one witness, and he reminded the jury that they ought on that account to be doubly cautious and suspicious. In the course of these observations he took occasion to observe that he himself had been charged with vindicating the society of United Irishmen on a former trial; and he declared that the intentions of that body were abominable. He also reminded the jury that he knew every man of them, and therefore trusted that they would do their duty between the crown and the subject.) "Gentlemen," said he, "the question for you to decide is, whether the evidence given this day by the witness is deserving of credit, and you are to judge whether his testimony supports the charge which he was brought forward to support. The evidence that has been given consists of the parole testimony of Mr. Reynolds; and you will consider the written evidence, as it has been called, and see how far it supports the charge; you will consider how far they corroborate and support one another. You will consider what degree of credit you will give to the person who has come forward and given his testimony to support the charges in the indictment, —a person who had been one of the United Irishmen, —who had formed the abominable intent of compassing and imagining the death of the king:—I say the intentions of that body are abominable." (Mr. Curran here denied that he had vindicated the Society of United Irishmen on a former trial, as had been alleged in some newspaper.) He then proceeded as follows:—

" Gentlemen of the jury, you have had before you in the present case the parole testimony of Mr. Reynolds, and the papers that have been given in evidence. Give me leave now to ask if you are satisfied in your consciences, upon the evidence adduced before you, that there has been a conspiracy to destroy the person of the king? or are you satisfied that there has been a conspiracy to levy war, or to do any other unlawful act? You will determine whether the evidence of Mr. Reynolds does prove that the prisoner at the bar is guilty of compassing or imagining the death of the king. See what the testimony of Mr. Reynolds is." (Here, Mr. Howell says, the learned counsel with great accuracy commented on the whole of Reynolds' evidence. Mr. Howell does not give that comment at length, but he favours his readers with the following sample of it.)

" He said to Mr. Cope that his, Reynolds' friend, would come forward and give information; he now comes as a public informer;* he was first a traitor to his king, and he afterwards became a traitor to the accomplices in his guilt. He says he was an accomplice in the crime charged against the prisoner at the bar: if the jury believe that Mr. Reynolds did break his oath of allegiance, they will weigh his evidence with great circumspection. And may they not say they believe in the innocence of the prisoner, notwithstanding

* The circumstances which threw Mr. Reynolds into the hands of government, and compelled him to appear against the United Irishmen, contrary to his stipulation with Mr. Cope, have been fully explained in a note at page 446, on Mr. Reynolds' examination-in-chief.

Mr. Reynolds has testified to his guilt ?* In a case of this kind, when a secret conspiracy is charged against the prisoner, an informer is by law admitted to give his testimony; but, suppose he should give evidence of matters which were not true, no human being could contradict him; there would be no possibility of protecting the accused against the accuser. A paper was given in evidence, of a letter from M'Can to the prisoner, mentioning Lord Edward Fitzgerald; we cannot call Lord Edward Fitzgerald to answer the charge; he has been called to appear before a court, where we must all of us appear. He is no longer amenable to an earthly tribunal. He is gone to that place where no false testimony can affect him. As to Mr. Reynolds, you, gentlemen of the jury, will judge of the credit due to his testimony. It is evident he is not a foolish man; he had not the plea of ignorance for the shameful breach of his oath of allegiance†; yet he now comes forward to give his evidence against his accomplices. You will judge of his evidence, and you will hold the balance with the greater care and steadiness, as the crime charged is of the greatest magnitude; and determine

* It is remarkable that Mr. Reynolds has not said one word implicating the prisoner, of whose name he had never heard; and whose person was unknown to him. Mr. Reynolds was called to prove the treasonable designs of the society of United Irishmen generally, and the meeting of the provincial committee held at Oliver Bond's house on the 12th of March.

† This passage is a *petitio principii* throughout. Mr. Reynolds is to prove the treasonable intentions of the United Irishmen, and that alone, for against the prisoner, individually, he proves nothing. Mr. Curran, in order to invalidate the testimony, assumes the very fact which the witness is to prove. . . .

whether the innocence or the guilt of the prisoner at the bar preponderates. You will observe one expression of this witness: he said, 'he had received 500 guineas as a compensation for his losses:' he said, 'I think I will take no more: but ask me that question to-morrow, perhaps I may change my mind.'* He told you he had a conversation with Mr. Cope about the United Irishmen. Mr. Cope expostulated, in a kind of sermon, on the abominable and mischievous conduct of the Society of United Irishmen, of the horrid murders and depredations they had committed, and affirmed that the whole property of the kingdom was endangered. Thus, through the calibre of Mr. Cope's eloquence, was struck the mighty Colossus, Mr. Reynolds, with the crimes of these deluded people!† and says Mr. Reynolds, I know a friend, who is a United Irishman, and I will endeavour to prevail on him to come forward, and give information against them. Says Mr. Cope, for such a man no reward would be too great, for he would be the salvation of his country.

"We shall produce evidence to show some traits of the moral conduct of Mr. Reynolds, relative to a bond given to a Mrs. Cahill; and, if we prove that he is such a man as you may judge not deserving of credit, and if

* As quotations of the evidence these are inaccurate. Mr. Reynolds did not say, "I think" I will take no more, nor "perhaps I may change my mind." Mr. Curran, as counsel for the prisoner, might fairly attempt to draw such a conclusion from what Mr. Reynolds did say, but he ought not to have misquoted the evidence.

† This figure has been greatly admired by the friends of Mr. Curran, and he himself was so attached to it, that he again compares Mr. Reynolds to a Colossus, and Mr. Cope to a dwarf, in his defence of Oliver Bond

you have a rational doubt in your mind that the prisoner at the bar is not guilty, then you will bring in your verdict of acquittal."

[Such was Mr. Curran's speech in defence of Byrne, as reported in Howell's State Trials. I have only compressed those parts of it which contained the law argument on the Statute of Treasons. Two things are evident from this speech; first, that Mr. Curran felt that on Mr. Reynolds' evidence alone turned the question of his client's acquittal or conviction; and, secondly, that his evidence must be got rid of, by impeaching his moral character. For that purpose the foundation has been amply laid in Mr. Reynolds' cross-examination, in which crimes of the deepest dye have been unsparingly imputed to him. Yet here Mr. Curran deliberately abandons every charge against Mr. Reynolds' character, save that arising from his violation of the oath of allegiance, and his conduct to Mrs. Cahill. If Mr. Curran did not feel himself authorised to support by evidence the other offences with which he charged that gentleman in cross-examination, he had no right, in the fair exercise of his duty as an advocate, to impute those crimes to the witness in cross-examination; in such a case imputations become unfounded calumnies in the mouth of counsel. If, on the other hand, he had such evidence as justified him in putting those questions, with a view to subsequent contradiction and proof, he had no right to peril his client's safety by withholding that evidence.

Mr. Curran's son, speaking of the defence in this case, states that tenderness for Mr. Reynolds' reputa-

tion had probably occasioned its suppression. It certainly does not appear in the collection of Curran's speeches, published during his lifetime. Mr. Howell's research has, however, preserved it to be a lasting memorial of Mr. Curran's profound reasoning and powerful eloquence. The public will now judge how far Mr. Reynolds' reputation was likely to be injured by such an effusion.]

The first witness called for the defence was

Miss Ann Fitzgerald.

Are you acquainted with Mr. Byrne, the prisoner at the bar?—No, Sir.

Do you know Mr. Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

From his general character, would you believe him on his oath?—I would not.

Cross-examined.

Where do you live?—In a nunnery.

How long have you lived there?—Thirteen years.

You have not mixed in the world during that time?—No, Sir.

Do you know a Captain Fitzgerald?—I do. He is my brother.

Is he in custody upon a charge of treason?—I hear so.

How do you know Mr. Reynolds?—He is my nephew, and has visited me often till of late.

Of what age is he?—He is about 27 years of age?*

* So that this lady had not mixed in the world since Mr. Reynolds was fourteen years old. Her brother, who was Mr. Reynolds' uncle, and

MRS. MARY MOLLOY *sworn.*

Where do you live?—In King-street.

Do you know Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

Have you any reason for knowing him?—I am his mother's aunt.

Have you known that man for many years past?—I have known him from his childhood.

By virtue of the oath you have taken, from your knowledge of him, do you in conscience believe he deserves to be credited upon his oath in a court of justice?—I do not.†

Cross-examined.

Are you a nun?—I am.

If Mr. Reynolds swore there was a Society of United Irishmen, would you believe him?—Why, if he swore there was a God, I would believe him.

If he swore that there was a Society of United Irishmen in the country, would you believe him?—I do not know what is understood by them.†

Where have you lived, Madam?—In Dublin.

And not know what a Society of United Irishmen

her father, who was the witness's grandfather, were both taken into custody at the same time as Mr. Reynolds, and their liberation and protection for himself were the only personal stipulations that Mr. Reynolds made with government.

* Why was this witness not asked as to the character of Mr. Reynolds, her nephew, when she was called in the former case?

† How could this woman venture to give such an answer as this, after comparing the notoriety of their existence to that of the existence of a God?

means?—I have heard the name, but do not know their schemes.

Have you ever given any reason for not believing him?—I believe I have.

What is your reason?—I do not think him an honest man. I know of a transaction of a bond and note given to a woman; she came and brought me that bond and note to keep for her, saying it was Reynolds' bond and note; I found it was a false bond; neither his name nor her name were mentioned in it.

And therefore you would not believe him upon his oath?—For that very reason.

Pray, my good lady, did you ever say he was a double traitor, and therefore you would not believe him?—I did not say that.

Did you ever say to any person that he was a traitor?—As I conceive the words, I never said them.

Did you ever conceive any other reason for disbelieving him?—No.

Did not you say that to another jury?—I did. *

And the jury believed him notwithstanding?—I do not know.

Was not the money paid?—I do not know: *I do not think the money due upon the last note is paid.*

To whom is it due?—To Mrs. Cahill.

Can she not be examined?—She was here last night,† but is blind and sickly.

* See her examination in M'Can's case. She was not asked a question upon the subject of her nephew's character, nor did she say a syllable upon it.

† By the words "last night" the witness probably meant the night of

What relation are you to Captain Fitzgerald?—He is my nephew.

Is he charged with treason?—I suppose so, because he is taken up. It is very hard when a person takes a book oath, that an improper construction should be put on one's word.

You are anxious to save Mr. Fitzgerald?—I would, or any honest man like him.

By a Juror.—You say the money is not paid upon the bond?—*There is a* 10*l. note not paid yet.*

By the Counsel.—Was that 10*l. tendered or offered to any person, since the first of this month?—Not to my knowledge:* I heard that Mrs. Reynolds gave one guinea and eight guineas after *

That is near 10*l.*—That was for the first note; *but there is* 10*l. due on the* 1*st of July.*

Payment was not demanded?—No; not to my knowledge.

You have the note? I have it about me.

Then why not demand it?—Because I have no right.

By a Juror.—The bond was paid by notes passed for the amount?—Yes.

By the same.—Were the notes refused to be paid, when they became due?—I do not know.

By the same.—But if you had the note in your possession why not present it?—I do not know.

Tuesday, on which day M'Can was tried. The proceedings in these cases were prolonged far into the night. Mrs. Cahill was in court on all the trials, being subpœnaed for the defence.

* Nine guineas make 10*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* Irish money.

By the Counsel.—Do you not live in the nunnery ?—I do.

Did not Mrs. Reynolds go there since the 1st of July to pay the money ? *—*I do not know; she came there; I do not know for what purpose.*

Was there not a note given to the priest for you at the nunnery ?—I do not know.

Have you not heard, and do you not believe that Mrs. Reynolds went to the nunnery and offered to pay the amount of the note to you ?—I do not know, not having seen her.

Did Miss Fitzgerald tell you ?—No.

Did you hear it from the priest ?—I did not.

Did you not hear that Mrs. Reynolds came there ?—I did.

And you refused to see her ?—I did.

And had the note in your pocket ?—I had; but what had that to say to the business.

By the Court.—Why refuse to see her ?—I was afraid to converse with her; I am apt to speak my mind, and she might take advantage of it.

By the Counsel.—You shut the door against her ?—Yes.

Did you ever shut the door against her before ?—By virtue of my oath, I took this opinion of him six months ago.

Had the priest any conversation with you on this business ?—He told me Mrs. Reynolds asked him

* The note would not be due until the 3rd July.

whether he would deliver a note to me from her, I having refused to see her.

What did you say to the priest?—I do not know; but *when I went up I saw it upon the table.*

Where is it?—I do not know; but I saw it upon the table.

Something to this effect, read this?—"I came from Mrs. Cahill, having paid the first note which was due; I would pay the second, but understand you have it." *I do not think that was verbatim the note, but the substance of it.*

Has the priest any particular friendship for Mr. Reynolds or not?—I cannot judge of the man.

Did you hear the priest say anything of Mr. Reynolds?—I do not think that a fair question.

If the matter did not pass at confession it is a fair question?—But I will not answer it.

By a Juror.—After passing of these notes was the bond cancelled?—It was.

By the same.—To settle the account?—Certainly it was.

By the same.—And the notes were given for the full amount and interest?—Yes.

This person gave her evidence late at night. She left her home early on the following morning, and remained in concealment for some time.

ELEANOR DWYER, *sworn.*

You know Mrs. Cahill?—I do.

You know Mrs. Reynolds?—I am not acquainted with her; I have seen her.

And spoke to her?—Yes.

You have been some time in the same house with Mrs. Cahill?—I have.

She is an old woman, and blind?—She is.

Did Mrs. Reynolds come at any time within these three weeks past to the lodging of Mrs. Cahill?—She did.

Tell what happened upon that visit with regard to a bond and note.

Mr. Attorney General.—My Lords, I object to this evidence. How can the conversation between two or three women impeach the credit of a man who was not present? But, my Lords, having mentioned this, I am indifferent what is done with the evidence.

Mr. Curran.—I shall examine as to a matter of fact.

Mention the transaction.—*Mrs. Reynolds came to Mrs. Cahill for a bond and note,** and Mrs. Cahill delivered them into her hands.

Go on, Madam.—I know no more about it; if you ask questions I will answer them.

Did she get the bond and note?—She did. I had them in my possession, and gave them up to Mrs. Reynolds at Mrs. Cahill's desire.

Was this bond and note given up by Mrs. Cahill, or did Mrs. Reynolds request it?—*At Mrs. Reynolds's request.*†

* See this woman's examination and cross-examination in the last case. She then said, "I do not know that Mrs. Reynolds came for the papers."

† On her former examination, Mr. Curran asked her, "Did the proposal to hand over this bond and note move from Mrs. Cahill, or was it a request made by any one else?" Ans. "No; nobody applied.

When was this?—A few hours after the first notice to appear in Court.

Cross-examined.

Who lives with Mrs. Cahill?—I live with her, and a servant-maid.

Nobody else?—No, Sir.

As soon as the notice was served upon Mrs. Cahill, did she despatch you to tell Mrs. Reynolds?—She did not.

Did she send the maid?—I believe not.

Did she go herself?—She could not.

Then in three hours after the notice was served?—I cannot say as to three hours, it might be four.

But it was between one and four?—I believe so.

Then Mrs. Reynolds never heard from you, or from Mrs. Cahill, or the servant, that notice had been served?—She did not hear it from me, I believe not from Mrs. Cahill, or the servant.

Then if she did not hear of the notice, her coming could not be in consequence of the notice?—I do not know.

What do you believe?—I cannot say.

Were you in the room when Mrs. Reynolds came first?—I was.

Did you remain all the time?—I do not recollect that accurately; I think I may say I was.

Were you thinking about this bond at the time she came?—I was not. I heard there was a false bond, and Betty Cahill called to me for the bond; I said I

knew nothing of it. She spoke loud, and asked me what I meant. I said, "Do not be angry, here it is," and gave it up.

By a Juror.—Was there any application for the bond and note?—I do not know.

By the same.—Did Mrs. Bond call for it?—I do not know; I heard she did, and that Mrs. Cahill said, if she was paid 170*l.*, the debt due, she would give up the papers.

By the Court.—Did not Mrs. Reynolds pay the money?—I heard so.

[This was the whole of the evidence offered by Mr. Curran in support of the grave charges he had insinuated against Mr. Reynolds on this occasion.

In his address to the jury he gave up every charge but that arising out of the inconsistency of the oath of allegiance and the United Irishmen's test, and this "trait of the moral conduct of Mr. Reynolds relative to a bond given to a Mrs. Cahill." Upon these two points he relied entirely for the defence of his client. In support of this charge he called but one witness, a woman who swore that Mrs. Reynolds applied to Mrs. Cahill to obtain possession of this bond and note within four hours after that person was subpœnaed to give evidence for the prisoner; neither Mrs. Cahill, nor this woman Dwyer, nor the servant-girl of Mrs. Cahill, having had any communication with Mrs. Reynolds in the interval.

To affect Mr. Reynolds' general character, two ladies were called, both of them his near relations: the first, Miss Fitzgerald, Mr. Reynolds' aunt, swore she

would not believe him upon his oath. Her account of herself was, that she had lived in a nunnery thirteen years, and had not mixed in the world during that period; her nephew was consequently fourteen years old when she retired from the world; her means of judging of his character arose from his visits to her during that interval. She did not state her reasons for forming so bad an opinion of him, but it appeared that her brother was in custody on a charge of high-treason. Some cause for her ill-will may however be collected from the evidence of the next witness, Mrs. Molloy, grand-aunt to the witness Mr. Reynolds, and aunt to Miss Fitzgerald, a professed nun in the same convent, who said that she would not believe her grand-nephew upon his oath because he had given a false bond to Elizabeth Cahill; "for that very reason:" and that she never conceived any other reason for disbelieving him. She also swore that, although Mr. Reynolds had paid the amount due upon the bond partly in two notes for 10*l.* each, yet that he did not pay the last of the two notes when it became due. She, however, reluctantly admitted that she had the note in her possession, and did not demand payment of it; and she at last confessed that Mrs. Reynolds called upon her to take up the note when it became due; that she had the note in her pocket at that time, and had it there still; that she refused to see Mrs. Reynolds, who wrote her a note stating the object of her call, which note the priest of the convent refused to convey to her; yet she admitted that she saw the note on the table in the convent-parlour and read it;

and, finally, she refused to tell what the priest said of Mr. Reynolds.

Such is the whole of the evidence upon which Mr. Curran asked a jury, (every man of whom he reminded them that he knew,) to believe that Mr. Reynolds was so worthless a private character that he could not be credited upon his oath.]

Two witnesses were next called to the character of the prisoner, and the case for the defence was closed.

WILLIAM FURLONG, ESQ., *was then called for the Crown.*

Do you know Thomas Reynolds?—I do.

How long?—Upwards of seven years.

Have you known his general character during that time?—I was concerned as attorney for his father many years, and was acquainted with his general character, which was always a good one, as appeared to me.

Do you consider that he is a credible witness upon his oath in a court of justice?—I do.

Cross-examined.

You have known him a good while?—Seven years particularly; I have known him somewhat more, and have trusted him with a good deal of money.

Did you think him likely to take a treasonable engagement against the constitution?—For several years after I knew him, I did not think so; but latterly I did think so.

Re-examined.

Latterly you thought he had taken an engagement of that kind?—Latterly I thought him a United Irishman, and embarked with them.

Independent of that, you thought him credible upon his oath?—I do think him so.

Under every impression you have received, and opinion you have formed of his veracity and the state of his character, do you believe he is a man this day to be believed upon his oath in a court of justice?—I do believe he is a man at this day to be believed upon his oath in a court of justice.

Case closed on both sides.

Mr. Bushe then addressed the Court and jury for the prisoner:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury, I rise to address you at this late hour, and to offer to you a few observations. After the display of those great and eminent abilities of the learned counsel who preceded me in his elegant and correct statement of the prisoner's case, I offer my observations with great deference.*

"Gentlemen of the Jury, you are called together here to determine upon the life of a fellow-subject. You will weigh in the scales of equal justice the evidence of a witness who came forward as a public informer, and consider the character which the prisoner bore before this unnatural rebellion broke out. I shall not pre-

* The reader has the greater part of that display before him, to form his own judgment of its elegance and ability.

sume to address your passions, to stimulate you to find a verdict, on the ground of humanity, in favour of the unhappy prisoner at the bar; but let me appeal to your justice and your wisdom, to consider the evidence which have been brought forward against my client on this occasion. (Mr. Bushe then reminded the jury, that Mr. Curran had already addressed many observations upon the crime of high-treason to them, and told them that he therefore would not trouble them upon that head. Then alluding to the meeting at Bond's, on the 12th of March, he contended that there was nothing in that meeting to criminate the prisoner: and he observed)—You cannot, from the evidence of Reynolds, collect any particular stress laid on the prisoner at the bar more than any other member of the body of United Irishmen who met at Bond's house." (Mr. Bushe continued to urge various arguments in favour of the prisoner, at considerable length, with great judgment, eloquence, and professional skill; but never again alluded to Mr. Reynolds in the most remote degree.)

Mr. O'Grady replied on behalf of the Crown:—he spoke at some length, but the only observation he made respecting Mr. Reynolds was the following:—"The prisoner's counsel attempted to impeach the character of Mr. Reynolds; but they have failed in that attempt."

Mr. Justice Crookshank summed up. He began:—"Gentlemen of the Jury, I acknowledge, after a sitting of so many hours, I feel myself very unable to lay this case before you with that precision I could wish; and I must therefore request that my brothers will deliver

to you their sentiments in addition to what I shall say. I will state to you the leading facts upon which your verdict must rest." The learned Judge then proceeded to explain to the jury the law of high-treason. He afterwards commented upon the evidence, and when he came to the evidence of Mr. Reynolds, after pointing out the manner in which circumstances turned out as that gentleman had told Mr. Cope that they would do, he proceeded thus:—

"*In order to lessen the weight of Reynolds's evidence, insinuations were thrown out in the course of his cross examination, that in my apprehension had not much weight; one was of a very unpleasant nature, his having administered poison to his wife's mother, and another of his pilfering some trifles in his younger days; but I own that they did not make any impression on my mind to Mr. Reynolds's disadvantage. Two ladies were also brought forward to impeach his credit, one of whom, though immured for these last thirteen years in a nunnery, took upon her to swear that Mr. Reynolds was not now to be believed on his oath.* On the other hand, Mr. Furlong, a gentleman of much respectability, swears in favour of his credit. The weight of this is matter for your consideration, you are the proper judges of it." The learned Judge then commented upon the remaining evidence, and concluded thus:—

"Having stated to you, as I trust I have, the law as it is, and left with you the evidence as it came from the witnesses themselves, you, gentlemen, are to determine

on the case of the prisoner; you are the constitutional judges of it, and far be it from me to interfere with that which is within your province only. You will weigh the evidence well, and pronounce your judgment upon it by the verdict you give, which I have no doubt will be such as will do honour to yourselves and justice to your country."

Mr. Baron George then addressed the jury at some length. With respect to Mr. Reynolds he observed:— "In this case, gentlemen, your attention will be directed to the evidence given by Mr. Reynolds. You will consider the nature of the evidence he has given, and whether, under all the circumstances, you do believe it, or have any reason to doubt it. With regard to the prisoner at the bar, Mr. Reynolds is not acquainted with him. The witness is not called as his particular accuser further than by proving the treasonable views of the conspiracy in which the prisoner is charged to be engaged."

The learned Baron then recapitulated the substance of Mr. Reynolds's evidence, and commented upon the evidence of the other witnesses at considerable length.

The learned Baron was followed by Mr. Justice Day, who, after commenting upon some instances in which he had been compelled to stop the counsel for the prisoner in advancing bad law, which, he observed, "without serving the client, always reflects upon the advocate," informed the jury that the case resolved itself into two questions exclusively for their consideration. First, whether the evidence produced by the Crown,

supposing it implicitly credited, substantiated all or any of the facts charged by the indictment against the prisoner; and, secondly, *what degree of credit ought, in their judgment and conscience, to be attached upon that evidence.* After going through the evidence very fully as to the first point, he observed upon the second as follows:—

"Gentlemen, the next question for your consideration, supposing the quantum of evidence in this case sufficient to support the indictment, is, what degree of credit you will feel yourselves bound to give to that evidence? And it is with great zeal and emphasis objected against the witnesses, that they are all accomplices, deeply implicated in the treason which they would fasten on the prisoner; that they are covered also (particularly Mr. Reynolds) with foul stains and gross immoralities; and that they have as little claim to your belief and credit as to character, and undoubtedly this is an objection of a serious and weighty nature, well deserving, at all times, the grave consideration, and, let me add, the favour of a jury, and which, in every case, must be left, with all its circumstances, to their good sense and conscience."

(His Lordship then stated the reasons why accomplices ought, and in most cases must be admitted as witnesses, and he then proceeded thus:—)

"*In the present case you will recollect that Mr. Reynolds, who has been the object, in my mind, of more invective and obloquy than the evidence warranted, has deposed to little else than to the existence of a comprehensive conspiracy and of its object.*"

After some further observations, his Lordship concluded by telling the jury to weigh calmly and dispassionately the manner of the witnesses, as well as the matter to which they have deposed; and, upon the whole, if they were not satisfied with the weight of the evidence, or entertained such doubt upon the case as rational and conscientious minds might well indulge in, to acquit the prisoner; on the other hand, if they believed the evidence, to find him guilty.

The jury retired *for ten minutes*, and brought in their verdict—*Guilty*.

Upon the prisoner praying for a day or two to regulate some worldly affairs, the attorney-general stated that it was not intended to pray immediate execution.

END OF VOLUME I.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 90, line 14, for "due to," *read* "due by."
103, line 13, for "by however obscure, &c." *read* "by an author however obscure."
157, line 1, for "county," *read* "province."
185, line 11, for "simple," *read* "lower."
254, line 26, for "other," *read* "higher."
332, line 17, dele "hundred."
381, lines 6 and 4 from the bottom of page, for "100*l.*" *read* "200*l.*"
391, dele the note. Mr. Richard Reynolds was dead at the time of the trial.

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